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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO VOL. 63

José Bosworth is a W.E.A. student interested in local history. She has published in *Medieval Ceramics* an article giving a potter's comments on some archaeological reports.

Aubrey Burl, former principal lecturer in archaeology at Hull College of Higher Education, is the author of *Stone Circles of the British Isles* (1976) and *The Stonehenge People* (1987). He is currently writing a book about the stone rows of Western Europe for Yale University Press.

A. D. George, principal lecturer in the social studies of science and technology at Manchester Polytechnic, is chairman of the Manchester Region Industrial Archaeology Society and a member of the Y.A.S. Industrial History Section.

Robert Hale is an assistant archivist with Humberside County Archives at Beverley. He is currently editing a series of account rolls of the manor of Flamborough.

Alan Harris has recently retired as lecturer in historical geography at the University of Hull. He has written several articles in the *Y.A.J.* and elsewhere on aspects of agricultural history.

G. Hinchliffe taught history at Roundhay School, Leeds, and retired as deputy headmaster. Since retirement he has spent much time working in the Archives Department of Leeds City Libraries. He is one of the longest serving members of the Y.A.S., chiefly concerned with the Local History Section, and a vice-president.

Richard Hoyle is a research fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He edited *Early Tudor Craven* in the Y.A.S. Records Series.

Edward Ingram is a retired schoolmaster and author of historical works on the East Riding, including *Our Lady of Hull* and *Leaves from a Family Tree*, based on 18th-century family correspondence.

Jim Monaghan is a lecturer in remote sensing and G.I.S. at James Cook University of North Queensland, Australia. Current research and publications include expert systems in archaeology and environmental modelling in the wet tropics rainforest and Great Barrier Reef World heritage areas.

May Pickles is a part-time W.E.A. tutor with a long-standing interest in local population history and field archaeology. She has published articles on Wharfedale in *Local Population Studies* and the *Y.A.J.* and has written on Yorkshire boundaries in a monograph to be published by the Y.A.S.

Pauline Sheppard Routh writes on medieval ecclesiological topics, specialising in research on monumental effigies.

Vivien Swan is an investigator for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. She has surveyed medieval earthworks in Ryedale and written extensively on Romano-British ceramics.

Don Spratt is a retired industrial chemist and amateur archaeologist. He edited with Barry Harrison *The North York Moors* (1989) and is grants officer of the Y.A.S.

Angus Taylor has published articles on architecture in *The Architectural Review*, *Country Life* and *Architectural History*.

Harold Taylor is participating in the recording of industrial archaeological sites in South Yorkshire by the Sheffield Trades Historical Society and is currently researching aspects of Barnsley's 19th-century linen manufacturing industry.

Blaise Vyner, formerly archaeology heritage and arts officer for Cleveland County Council, is now a lecturer in archaeology at York University and co-director of the York Environs Project.

R. F. White is archaeology officer in the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

David Wykes is a research lecturer in the Department of History at Leicester University and vice-chairman of the Council of Manchester College, Oxford.

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of their authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

THE DEVIL'S ARROWS
Boroughbridge, North Yorkshire
The Archaeology of a Stone Row

By Aubrey Burl

BOROUGHBRIDGE, Here, like sentinels guarding the little town from the west, are the three biggest arrows in England, three upright stones...worn by centuries of wind and weather perhaps from the time of the Ancient Britons.

A. Mee, 1941, 71

Introduction

The aims of this paper are threefold: to establish the type of setting the Devil's Arrows was; the period of its construction; and its cultural associations.

Just west of Boroughbridge, and incongruously flanked by the busy A1 road, the stones of the Devil's Arrows (SE 389 663) form one of the most astonishing megalithic settings in Western Europe. The tallest, 22 ft. 6 ins. high (6.9m), is surpassed in height only by the 25 ft. 6 ins. (7.8m) of the gigantic pillar in Rudston churchyard 30 miles to the east. The surviving upright of the Great Trilithon, 22 ft. (6.7m) at Stonehenge, the Punchestown menhir, 19 ft. 6 ins. (5.9m) in Co. Kildare, the Longstone, 17 ft. 6 ins. (5.3m) near Naas in the same county are all shorter. Nowhere, even in Brittany, is there a line of three such monstrous stones (Plate 1).

Despite this the Devil's Arrows have been remarkably neglected. Little has been written about them that is not repetitious, and, incredibly, there is not one good, published plan. There is continuing argument about the original number of stones, about their source, because they are not local, about their age, their function, and even – simply because the line is not quite straight – whether they are not the remnants of an incredible stone circle over a mile in diameter. As such a ring would have been four times the diameter and eight times the area of Avebury, the largest known circle in the British Isles, (Burl, 1976, 320) this supposition can be rejected.

Also known as the Devil's Bolts, the Three Greyhounds, and the Three Sisters, the Arrows stand unevenly spaced on a NNW-SSE axis a quarter of a mile south of the River Ure (fig. 1). The land rises very gently at a gradient of 1:175 towards the south and the stones also increase in height from north to south, 18 ft., 22 ft. and 22 ft. 6 ins. (5.5, 6.7, 6.9m) respectively. Each of them leans noticeably towards the south suggesting that they had been hauled upright from the north, erected in a hole with a sloping southern ramp to facilitate the raising of the heavy and awkward pillars.

The line is some 570 ft. (174m) long. In it the two northern stones stand in a field, the third being separated from them by the Boroughbridge-Roecliffe road.

At the NNW end of the row the lowest stone is rectangular in section, about 8 ft. 6 ins. by 4 ft. 6 ins. (2.6 × 1.4m) with its broader face at right-angles to the alignment. Like the other Arrows its top is deeply grooved with ruts that are slightly out of the vertical.



Plate 1. The Devil's Arrows from the north. (Photograph: A. Burl)

198 ft. (60m) to the south is the central stone which stands over 6 ft. (1.8m) west of the line between the others. It is almost square in section, 5 ft. by 4 ft. (1.5 × 1.2m).

360 ft. (110m) to the SSE across the road is the third and tallest Arrow near the brow of the little rise. Grooved, and squarish in section, 4 ft. 6 ins. by 4 ft. (1.4 × 1.2m), its great size is somewhat diminished by the trees near it. It weighs about 30 tons (Plate 2).

There have been several excavations at the bases of the stones.

Early Descriptions and History

Before any discussion about the age and purpose of the Devil's Arrows it is essential to establish the original number of stones, three, four or five, their arrangement and their fate.

The debate about how many stones there were in the row must begin with the account of the notable Tudor antiquary, John Leland, whose 'supreme antiquarian merit resulted from his resolution to go to look at places of interest instead of merely reading about them' (Kendrick, 1950, 52). It is known that he visited Boroughbridge some time between 1535 and 1540 and inspected the stones. Confidence in his observations is increased by the accuracy of his descriptions, and the fact that he examined each stone individually. The testimony of this eye-witness therefore deserves quotation.

'A little withowt this Towne [*Borough-Bridge*] on the West Parte of *Wateling-Streate* standith 4. great maine stones wrought above *in conum* [shaped conically] by Mannes hand.

They be set in 3. several Feldes at this Tyme.

The first [the NNW] is 20 foote by Estimation in higheth, and an 18. foote in Cumpace. 'The Stone towarde the Ground is sumwhat square, and so up to the Midle.

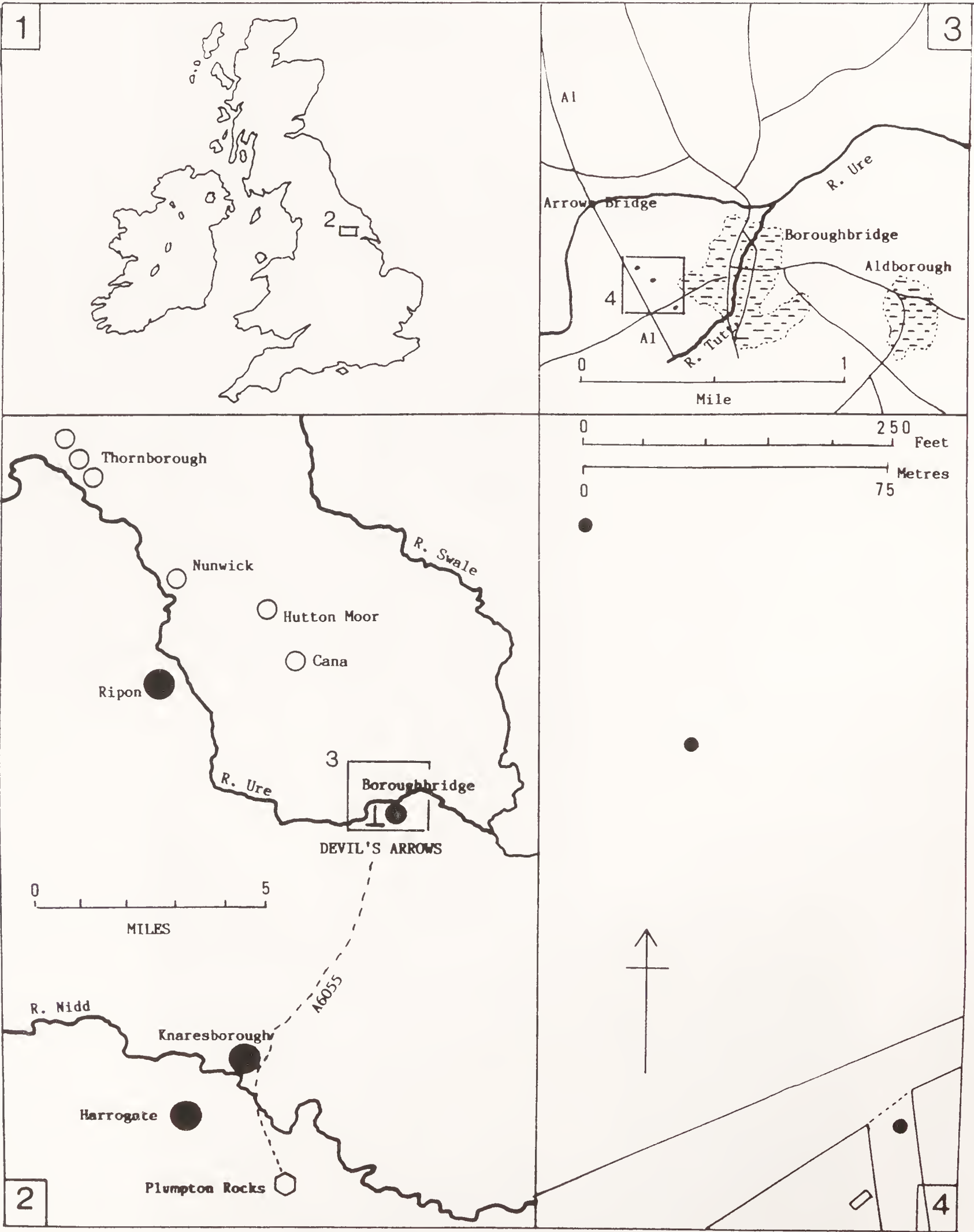


Fig. 1. The Devil's Arrows, location maps.

But the very (toppe thereof is broken) of a 3. or 4. footes. Other 2. [the central pair] of like shap stand in another feld a good But shot of [arrowshot off]: and the one of them is bigger then the other: and they stand within a 6. or 8. fote one of the other. The fourth [the southernmost] standith in a several feld a good stone cast from the other ij. and is bigger and higher then any of the other 3. I esteme it to the waite of a 5. Waine Lodes or more.

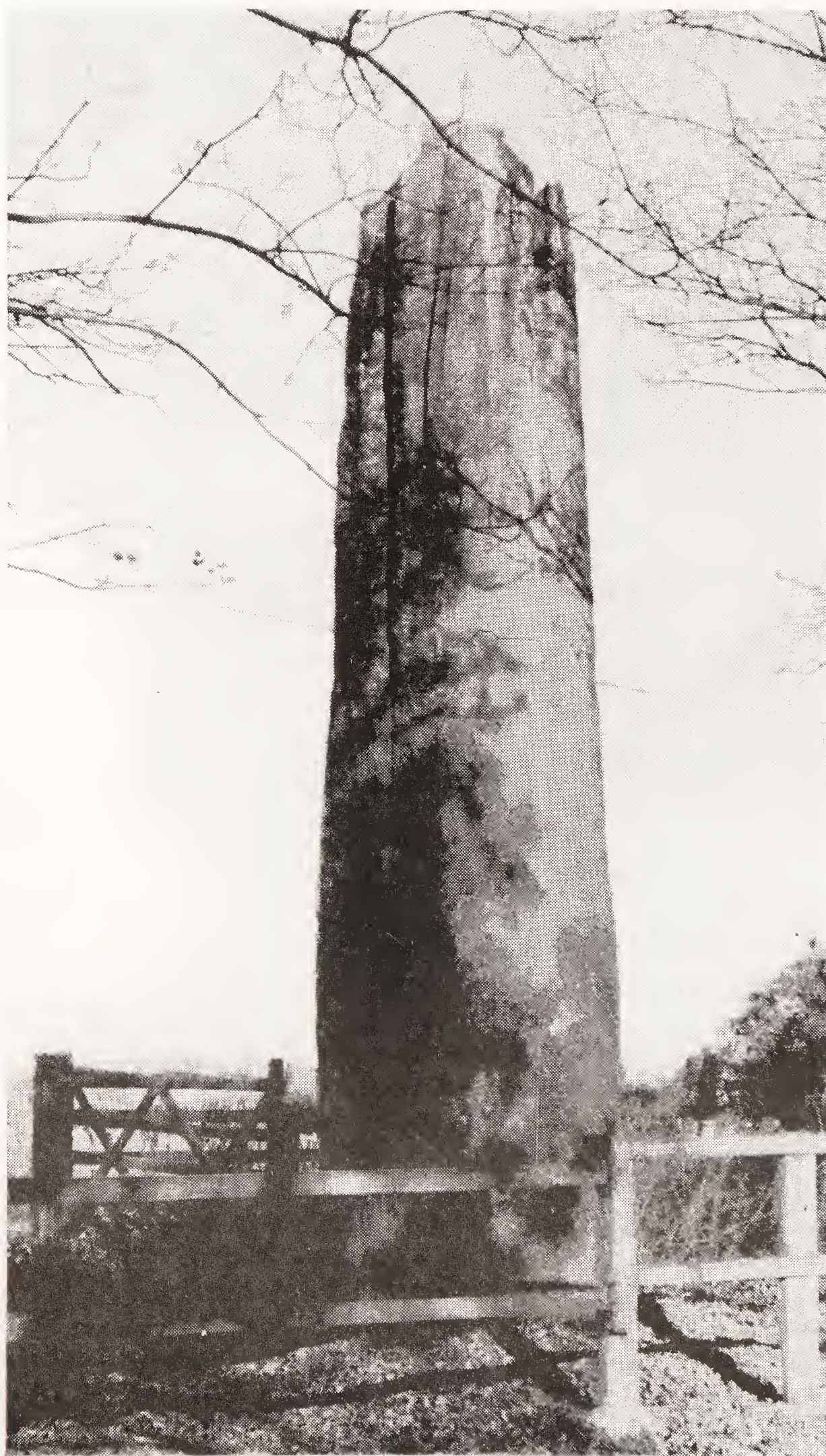


Plate 2. The S.S.E. Arrow from the south. (Photograph: A. Burl)

Inscription could I none find yn these Stones: and if ther were it might be worn out: for they be sore worn and scalid with Wether. I take them to be *trophea a Romanis posita* in the side of *Watheling-Streat*, as yn a place moste occupied yn Yorneying, *desunt yn fighte*. They stonde (all) as [loo]king *ab occidente ad orientem*' (Leland, 1770, I, Fol. 100, pp. 95-6).

Despite Leland's error about the row's alignment which was not west-east but almost north-south his is an invaluable description of the stones before the line was vandalised. A second Tudor reference to the Arrows in 1588 (Craig, 1984, 114) added nothing to Leland but its tempting mention of the discovery of coins in the neighbourhood may have led to the toppling of one of the stones.

Some thirty years after Leland's visit William Camden, the great Elizabethan topographer, came to Boroughbridge just after the smaller and therefore less dangerous of the two central stones had been overthrown by treasure-hunters and left lying against its former companion. 'Wee saw in three divers little fields, foure huge stones, of pyramidall forme, but very rudely wrought, set as it were in a streight and direct line. The two Pyramides in the midst whereof the one was lately pulled downe by some that hoped, though in vaine, to find treasure did almost touch one another: the uttermore stand not far off, yet almost in equall distance from these on both sides. Of these I haue nothing else to say, but that I am of opinion with some, that they were monuments of victorie erected by the Romans, hard by the high street that went this way..' (Camden, 1610, 701).

That there have been attempts to break up the stones is obvious from the six or seven marks of a wedge still visible in the NNW Arrow (Leadman, 1903, 9). The question as to whether a fifth stone had actually been removed must be left unresolved. Neither Leland nor Camden saw it and it was only in the late seventeenth century that it was mentioned. In John Aubrey's littered collection of archaeological data, his *Monumenta Britannica*, there is a reference to Dr. Thomas Gale, Head of St. Paul's School in London. 'July 1692 Dr. Thos. Gale hath lately recieved a letter from the present Rector of Aldborough...that there were five arrowes' (Aubrey, 1980, 109).

The information came from the Rev. Edward Maurice – often spelled Morris – Vicar of Aldborough from 1677 to 1720. He wrote that the former crossing of the River Ure 'might be about 100 yards above the present passage at Burrowbridge, and so the way on this side leads near the present three, the late 4, but anciently five monuments or arrows' (Lukis, 1885, 291-2).

One need not be sceptical about enduring rumours of a fifth pillar that had been part of the line only a few generations ago. The removal of such a giant would have impressed every observer. Lukis, wondering why neither Leland nor Camden had mentioned the stone, surmised that 'it was probably recumbent, and escaped general observation' (ibid, 282), a sensible explanation, especially as the area was criss-crossed with untidy fields and hedges.

Yet qualification is needed. It is certain that Leland went to each stone for he not only measured them but examined them for inscriptions. He would also have gone on horseback at a height much more advantageous for viewing his surroundings than today's approach on foot. If the hypothetical fifth stone had simply collapsed it would have been lying on the line of the remaining four. It is unbelievable that Leland would have overlooked a prostrate but bulkily conspicuous pillar over 20 ft. (6m) long as he rode past it not once but again on his return to the road. The same might be said of Camden who, significantly, did notice the fallen fourth stone.

From this it follows that had there been a fifth Arrow it had either tumbled from its deep stonehole or more probably been toppled some time in the early Tudor period and subsequently broken up for building material. Its existence must remain questionable. There is less doubt about the fourth pillar.

Exactly what happened to that stone is not certain but it is probable that in the early seventeenth century it was dragged to St. Helena, Boroughbridge, for the foundation of a bridge over the River Tutt (Lukis, 1877, 134). An order of the justices of Knaresborough, dated 9 January, 1621, may be connected with its removal.

'ffor that Humfrey Ward hath made oath that the inhabitants within the p[ar]ishe of Aldbroughe have not re-edified [repaired] a sufficient bridge over the River of Tutladd in Burrobrig accordinge to theire agree[men]t between them and the inh[ab]itants of Burrowbridge wherupon pr[oc]esse were stayde for leavyinge a payne of v^{li} [£5.00] formlie layde upon them for the doeing therof. Therefore this Court doth now order that further pr[oc]esse shalbe awarded against the said in[ha]bitants of Burrowbridge and the parishioners of Aldbroughe to constreyne them speedile to re-edifie the same bridge accordinge to the said payne of v^{li} in that case formerly made.

p[er] C[uria]m

Radclyff (1621)

Maurice's letter of 1692 to Gale confirmed that it was indeed the prostrate Arrow, lying conveniently nearby, that was used. 'Of those 4 one was whilome converted into a Bridge' (Aubrey, 1980, 108).

John Aubrey, who saw the Arrows for himself in September, 1687, blundered about the former position of the Arrow. He quite accurately cited the heights of the three remaining stones but then added that to their *north* there had been a fourth stone. The mistake came from his misreading of the crabbed secretarial writing of Dr. William Watts. To look at the stones on Aubrey's behalf Watts had walked from the Three Greyhounds inn, now Mauleverer House flats, in Boroughbridge (Reynolds, 1987, 61). In reply to Aubrey's enquiry he wrote, 'Attending to your desire I paiste it out and betwixt the 3 grey hounds and the first stone is 670 yards to the second [that is, from the southernmost Arrow to the central pillar] 100 yards to the third 70', quite good approximations of the true distances of 120 and 66 yards.

Believing that Watts meant the distance between the first and last stones was 670 + 100 + 70 or 840 yards altogether Aubrey drew a plan reconstructed from a 'survey...taken by a Workman, by the procurement of Mr. [Michael] Gilbert Minister of Aldburgh April 17th 1669' which showed four stones, ironically very much as Leland would have seen them, but with the fourth at the far end of the row instead, as had been the case, against Watts' central pillar.

When the accretion of hearsay is removed the fact is that Leland saw only four towering stones set in an almost straight NNW-SSE line in which the two central stones were about 7 ft. (2.1m) apart. Any fifth stone had disappeared before his visit. If the row had been consistently graded in height the shorter, now-missing fourth Arrow would have stood between the low NNW and the taller central stone.

If its lower portion was embedded in the bridge it may still be there. A local belief that the upper segment was set up in the grounds of Aldborough Manor (Lukis, 1877, 134), has been kindly confirmed by the present owner, Sir Henry Lawson-Tancred (pers. comm.).

Source

To the medieval mind stones as big as the Devil's Arrows could not have been quarried or even moved by man. They were either the handiwork of giants or the devil or were a manmade compound, mixed on the spot, of sand and powder glued together by some form of cement. Even Camden believed this.

'This much is observable, that many, and those learned men, are of opinion, that the stones are not natural, but artificially compounded of *Sand*, *Lime* and *Vitriol*...as also of an oily unctuous matter (Camden, 1695, 716-7). Much the same was claimed for other megaliths such as Stonehenge and Avebury.

To scientifically-minded scholars of the seventeenth century this was nonsense. Dr. Martin Lister, a York physician who submitted papers to the Royal Society on subjects as diverse as spiders, molluscs and antiquities, wrote to the Society declaring that the

Arrows were natural. Being also a mineralogist he was able to identify the stone.

'Being upon the subject of *Roman Clay-work*, we cannot but take notice of the opinion of *Cambden* [sic]; who will have the *Obelisks* at *Burrow-Briggs* in this County *Artificial*, when in truth they are nothing less, being made of one of the most common sorts of Stone, *viz*, of a Course Rag, or Milstone-grit; but without doubt, the bigness of the Stone surprized him, either not thinking them Portable, or perhaps not any *English rock*; fit to yield Natural Stones of that Magnitude' (Lister, 1682).

He considered that the source of the stone was probably some miles away. 'And as to the Rocks whence they might be hewen, there are many of that Stone near the River *Nid*, and upon the Forest of *Knarsbourg*; and a little above *Ickly*...within 16 miles of *Burrow-Briggs* there is One Solid Bed of this very Stone, whose Perpendicular Depth only will yield *Obelisks*, at least 30 foot long' (ibid).

This was prescient. Modern geological opinion concerning the source favours the attractive and popular park of Plumpton Rocks two miles south of Knaresborough (Kendall & Wroot, 1924, 120-1; Wood, E. S., 1947, 180-2). 'Thousands of people come every year to see the old oaks and beeches, the giant firs and yews, the ash woods, and the amazing rocks carved by centuries of wind and rain into the strangest imaginable shapes' (Mee, 1941, 286).

There, at Lover's Leap and other weathered outcrops around the tiny lake, thick beds of millstone grit can be seen (Plate 3). The stone is a mixture of coarse sandstones, shales and gravels with great differences of hardness amongst the layers. 'It is readily cut into fantastic shapes by the winds which drive loose grains against it like a natural sandblast'



Plate 3. Plumpton Rocks near Knaresborough. (Photograph: A. Burl)

(Evans, n.d., 65). Easily mistaken for granite as Charlotte Brontë did when describing the moors in *Jane Eyre*, the grit often erodes into individual slabs. 'Masses of it, in detached portions, are to be found at Plumpton' (Congress, 1864, 189).

Transportation and Erection

For people wishing to set up a line of standing stones this was an almost ideal source. The slabs could be mounted on sledges and dragged along a prepared trackway. Even allowing for detours the distance to be travelled was hardly nine miles along comfortably level ground (Inglis, 1908, 89). After fording the River Nidd the way climbed to the modern Hopewell House along a gradient of no more than 1:144. Beyond there the trail could follow the line of today's A6055 avoiding patches of marshy ground. After two very slight ascents at the beginning, one between Ferrensby and White Cross, the path fell steadily over the remaining miles to Boroughbridge.

Two observations emerge from this, the first the willingness of people to make such an effort, the second that this was almost certainly a prehistoric enterprise.

There was good building stone available at Boroughbridge itself. The town is built on sandstone, a fine 'freestone' that lends itself to carving and shaping but which has to be quarried. Romans quarried. Prehistoric people rarely did. For their megalithic tombs and stone circles they used glacial erratics and free-lying boulders, preferring to erect monuments close to a convenient source rather than manhandle stones any great distance. That some of the tallest standing stones in the British Isles, at Rudston and the Devil's Arrows, should be found in Yorkshire, a region not noted for its megaliths, on sites many miles from the source of the stones, suggests that there were compelling reasons for their erection. Only the Bronze Age sarsen circle at Stonehenge demanded more of its builders (Burl, 1987, 173).

The creation of the Devil's Arrows row was an awesome undertaking. Gigantic blocks, the lightest over 25 tons in weight, had to be back-strainingly pulled over nine long miles. Almost certainly men rather than slow, stupid and obstinate oxen hauled the slabs.

What this entailed can be imagined. Using ropes of wood-fibre, lashing the stone onto a hardwood sledge, dragging the load along rails of squared oak trunks that could be taken up and moved forward once the sledge had passed a team of some two hundred workers shifted the stone step by step along the tedious miles between Plumpton and Boroughbridge. An experiment in 1979 at Bougon near Niort in central France shifted a 31-ton block in exactly this manner (Mohen, 1989, 168-82). The pace was laboriously slow, hardly a hundred yards a day (Joussaume, 1988, 103). A similar crawl for the Devil's Arrows would have entailed six months for the transportation of a single stone.

It is arguable that only one stone was taken at a time. It is unlikely in prehistoric Britain that four teams, as many as 800 young men, could have been assembled, fed and sheltered for months at a time.

Two hundred labourers were probably the most able-bodied of a population of a thousand or more people, far more than the likely inhabitants of a single prehistoric settlement. A communal effort must have been demanded. 'It is much more likely that such imposing monuments were the work of a population scattered amongst several villages within the tribal territory around the structure, a place of veneration for a whole people' (Joussaume, 1988, 102). It is noticeable that the Devil's Arrows stand in the Vale of York at the southern edge of a prehistoric concentration of barrows and henges extending several miles to the north (Elgee & Elgee, 1933, 77), an area well-settled in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages (Radley, 1974).

Once at the site the stone was dragged to its prepared hole, a pit with its southern side sloped so that the pillar's base could be manoeuvred down it. The bottom of the hole

may have been densely packed with clay like that of the Goggleby Stone in the Shap row of Cumbria. 'The purpose of the clay introduced by the original builders was to hold the stone in position until it could be pulled upright' (Clare, 1978, 10).

With sturdy oak bars the Arrow would be levered very slowly upwards until at 70° from the perpendicular it could be hauled erect by ropes (Atkinson, 1961, 297-8).

At that angle the force required to move it was one-fifth its dead weight. Straining at his rope a man could, for a short while, exert a pull of 100 lbs. For the heaviest Arrow of 30 tons the equation for the work-force is:

$$\frac{30 \times 2240 \text{ lbs}}{5} = 134560 \div 100 = 135 \text{ labourers}$$

More men were needed to prop the stone from behind but the size of this hypothetical work-force is feasible, being no larger than the gang that brought the stone from its source. The organisation, however, was prodigious, involving the disruption of ordinary life, providing food and temporary shelters for the teams, older people taking over the domestic chores of the young men. From start to finish the transporting and erecting of the Devil's Arrows must have taken several years.

A paper to be published in a forthcoming *Antiquity*, 'The scale of megalith transport' by R. S. Thorpe and O. Williams-Thorpe, suggests that the Devil's Arrows may have been glacial erratics from the Northallerton area some eighteen miles to the north of Boroughbridge. They could have come to rest within a mile and a half of their present site, though on the far side of the River Ure.

If this is geologically correct, the distance over which the stones were hauled was much shorter than that from Plumpton Rocks. Nevertheless, the numbers of workers involved, the methods of transportation and erection, and the speed of movement remain unaffected by this new interpretation.

The Grooves

The top of each Arrow is striated with a series of deep grooves and there have been suggestions that these were channeled out by man. Stones with rather similar runnels are known elsewhere.

In Brittany, particularly in Finistère, there are elegantly slender domes of granite with fluted sides (Giot, et al, 1979, 261-9). One, the Mât de St. Éneour stands outside the church at Plonéour-Lanvern, and there are others at Penhors and Tréogat. These delicately-fashioned shafts have funerary associations, being found in Iron Age cemeteries at St. Jean-Trolimon, Loctudy, Goulien and elsewhere. They have no cultural affinities with the Devil's Arrows.

In Ireland there is a concentration of grooved granite pillars in Co. Carlow (O'Toole, 1939). Some fourteen stones stand within a few miles of each other near the conjunction of the rivers Slaney and Derreen. Down their sides are vertical channels like 'the frame of a closed but not tightly rolled umbrella' (Mitchell, 1939, 106). Fifteen miles NNW in Co. Kildare the Long Stone at Mullaghmast has a notched top, three grooves down its west side and another on its north. Rather like the Devil's Arrows it must have been dragged to its site from a granite source five miles away. 'It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the monolith in either a worked or unworked condition was carried to Mullaghmast by man' (Mitchell, 1940, 166).

One of the finest of these grooved pillars is at Ardristan near Tullow, 9 ft. (2.7m) high with six vertical grooves, each about 6 ft. 6 ins. (2m) long. It was the regularity in length and direction of grooves such as these, their straightness and the fact that there were 'thousands of similar slabs of exactly similar granite...in the immediate vicinity' with no furrows whatsoever that convinced investigators that the Carlow stones had been artificially grooved.

The same argument cannot be applied to the Devil's Arrows. At their presumed source, Plumpton Rocks, the surfaces of the millstone grit have been weathered into irregular channels of varying lengths. The runnels in the Devil's Arrows are the same, short or long, of different depths, irregular, and showing no trace of working.

The tall SSE pillar leans towards the south-west and on this sheltered side the grooves are short. On the north-east and south-east faces the grooves run vertically at an eccentric angle to the slant of the stone (Wood, 1947). 'That they are waterworn channels is evident from their running straight down two slanting sides of a stone which leans, and from their being very long on the uppermost side...and very short on the overhanging side of the same stone' (Lewis, 1878, 182).

The grooving on the Devil's Arrows is natural, fashioned long before men brought the stones to Boroughbridge. The identical effect of weathering can be seen at Rudston, and at Sueno's Stone near Forres, the remarkable Dark Age pillar of sandstone on which elaborate battle-scenes have been carved. The top has been so gouged and channeled by rain that it is now safe-guarded by lead capping. No protection has yet been afforded the naturally-fluted Devil's Arrows.

The Excavations

There have been several investigations at the foot of the stones, the first recorded being in 1709 when the Rev. Edward Maurice and Roger Gale, son of Thomas, opened an area of 9 ft. (2.7m) wide around the central pillar (Hutchinson, 1794, I, 242).

A little below the turf and topsoil was a mass of large cobblestones, grit and clay. In four or five layers jammed solidly around the stone, filling its 5 ft. (1.5m) deep hole, the heavy setting held the pillar tightly in place. The base of the Arrow was flat-bottomed, apparently carefully shaped for it to squat firmly on the underlying clay that was 'so hard that the spade could not affect it' (Smith, 1852, 8).

To leave evidence of their digging Maurice and Gale deposited a lead box under the Arrow. In it were four halfpennies of William III and Queen Anne. 'I could not commend them for it, as it could only tend to mislead the curious of future times' (Stukeley, 1776, 74). As no coin could have been earlier than AD 1689, 150 years after Leland had recorded the existence of the stones, this was an illogical fear.

William Stukeley, who first saw the Devil's Arrows in 1725 (Plate 4), considered that the stones had been shaped. 'They are stones of very large dimensions, and have been hewn pretty square, much as those at Stonehenge; but silly people have knocked off the edges' (ibid).

Four thousand or more years of exposure to rain and frost have roughened the Arrows above ground but below, protected from the weather, the central Arrow clearly showed 'the marks of a first dressing upon it'. It is now known that this treatment, reminiscent of the carpentry techniques employed at Stonehenge (Burl, 1987, 179), was given to the other stones. In a countryside without easily-accessible boulders it could be expected that the inhabitants would be skilled woodworkers rather than stonemasons. The signs of pointed implements, perhaps flint adzes and picks, were very apparent on the buried parts of the stones (Clinch, 1907, 368), smoothing the sides to enhance their appearance.

In 1876 an excavation at the NNW stone found that its stonehole was 4 ft. 6 ins. (1.4m) deep. The bottom of the stone, however, was in its original rough state. In 1881 there was further digging on the eastern side of the central stone, and an excavation at the SSW Arrow whose squared base lay 6 ft. (1.8m) below ground.

Limited though these explorations were, recovering no artefacts to date the erection of the Arrows, they did provide evidence of tooling, and of the methods used to ensure the stones' stability.

Finds elsewhere have not helped. A report to the Royal Society early in 1742 'of a flat

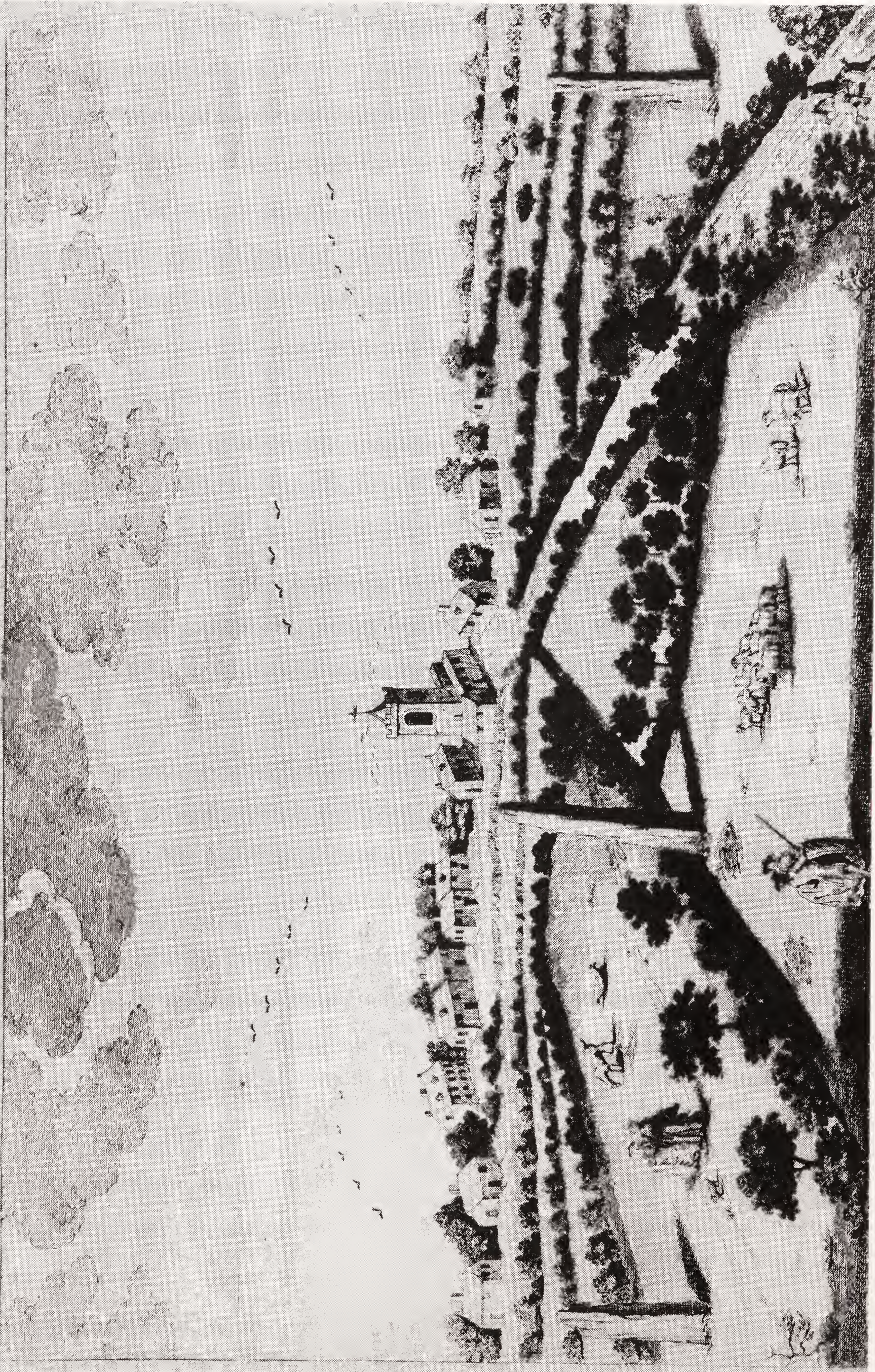


Plate 4. William Stukeley's drawing of the Devil's Arrows.
From the west. Boroughbridge is in the background.
(Taken from Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* II, 1776.)

bar of gold, twisted, found some time since near Boroughbridg' (Lukis, 1885, 441) tells nothing of the provenance of this Bronze or Iron Age ornament. The chance discovery in 1879 of 'a quantity of flints' some 300 yards (275m) east of the central Arrow (Leadman, 1882, 495) may have been nothing more than the remains of a flint-working area unconnected with the erection or use of the stones.

Legends and Fantasies

There are several stories connecting the Boroughbridge stones with the Devil. The most widespread is that Satan, for some reason angry with Aldborough, threw a quiverful of arrows at the town. He was standing on How Hill just south of Fountains Abbey and he over-estimated his strength. From there to Aldborough was eight miles and every one of his missives fell short, embedding themselves outside Boroughbridge a good mile west of his objective.

The Devil's failure was not unusual. He was always missing whether aiming at Aldborough, or throwing stones at a blacksmith at St. Mabyn in Cornwall, or at Rudston church although there he did do better, the stone landing in the churchyard a mere 12 ft. (3.7m) from his target (Bord, J. & C., 1987, 97).

Other tales claim that the grooves on the Arrows are marks left by the Devil's rope while he was trying to hang his grandmother (Pevsner, 1959, 118), or that the stones are 'probably the burial chambers of Stone Age man' (Scott, 1973, 168), a truly megalithic tomb!

Another superstition warned that anyone daring to walk twelve times anti-clockwise around the stones at midnight would raise the Devil. There is an uncorroborated report that an overseas visitor, filled either with bravado or good strong Yorkshire ale, accepted the challenge. He set off courageously but after eleven circumnavigations decided to withdraw (Wilcock, 1977, 225).

Such legends might seem to be whispers from an ancient past but, may, in fact, be no more than two hundred years old. There is no mention of the name, 'Devil's Arrows' before 1692 when it appeared in the *Monumenta Britannica* (Aubrey, 1980, 109-10).

In the early sixteenth century Leland (1770, 95) wrote only of '4 great maine stones', and fifty years later there was still no mention of the Devil. In a letter of 1588 written to Lord Burghley by James Ryther of Harewood Castle, a manor only 14 miles south of Boroughbridge, the line of stones was mentioned.

'In the feeldes of Aldbroughe neer to Burrowbridge ar dayly found antiquities of coyne & other apparvuncis of som great cytty, as the stones lyke to pyramydes sett up ther do allso wittnes som mighty overthrowe gyven at the rasinge of that towen, for the Romanes did take of the Greeks erection of tropheis as monuments not easily removable, to contynewe awe & obedyence of the subdued by an eye remembrance of their once or oftner overthrowe' (Craig, 1984, 114).

From this it is clear that Ryther believed that the Arrows had been set up by the Romans as memorials of their military capture and destruction of a town. This belief persisted for decades. In the early seventeenth century Camden (1610, 701) simply called the Arrows 'four huge stones' that 'were monuments of victorie erected by the Romans'.

But on page 716 of the 1695 edition of his *Britannia* there was a comment about 'the silly stories of their being those bolts which the Devil shot at some cities hereabouts and so destroy'd them' and 'the *Pyramids*, call'd by the common people the *Devil's Arrows*' (ibid, 733).

The legend had not then settled into its modern form, Aldborough was absent. The Devil's aim was true. Even in 1697 when Celia Fiennes passed through Boroughbridge the story was little known. Unable to buy any salmon she had to be content with 'a very

large Codfish there, above a yard long and more than half a yard in compass very fresh and good and cost but 8 pence' (Fiennes, 1982, 95). This travelling trencherwoman said nothing about the stones or the Devil. Daniel Defoe, who came to Boroughbridge in the late seventeenth century also was silent about the Arrows and the Devil (Defoe, 1971, 15, 511).

The emergence of the story may be narrowed to the decade 1682-92. In 1682 Dr. Lister, the local physician from York who knew the Arrows well enough to discuss their mineralogy, simply called them 'Obelisks' with no mention of satanic associations (Lister, 1682).

A possibility is that in the later eighteenth century the local interest in the stones but complete ignorance about their origins was embellished during conversations between Thomas Gale from London and the Rev. Edward Maurice of Aldborough, a keen antiquarian who 'wrote about the Roman remains of Isurium [Aldborough] in Gibson's revision of Camden's *Britannia*' (Reynolds, 1984, 162).

Legends about the Devil are rare in Wales, Scotland and northern England (Grinsell, 1976, 21) but frequent in southern England, especially around Avebury with its megaliths, the Devil's Quoits, Devil's Brand-Irons, Devil's Chair and Devil's Den. That Gale knew of them is certain for he owned a manuscript copy of Aubrey's *Monumenta* (Hunter, 1975, 207), and he was a constant correspondent of John Aubrey, that enthusiast for the Avebury stone circles.

Gale visited Boroughbridge in 1692, saw the line of stones, discussed them with Maurice, perhaps telling him about the Devil at Avebury. It may have been after that that Maurice brought the pillars out of their anonymity by calling them the 'arrowes' in his letter to Gale, And Devil's Arrows they have been ever since 1692.

In the romantic late eighteenth century such renaming was not unusual. The stone circle on Overton Hill near Avebury was known simply as 'the Temple' in the seventeenth century. But Stukeley (1743, 31-2) described it as 'a most beautiful temple of the Druids. They still call it the sanctuary', a name foisted on it by one of Stukeley's fanciful contemporaries (Burl, 1979, 196). Interestingly, as late as 1723 Stukeley continued to refer to the Arrows as 'the 4 obelisks at Burrobridg' (Stukeley, 1723, 106). The Devil had not yet taken tight hold of popular imagination.

Turning from legend to fantasy it has been claimed that the Devil's Arrows form part of a ley-line, another aspect of popular imagination.

'It is beyond belief that the gargantuan Devil's Arrows were dragged 7 miles to accidentally sit at the end of a line passing through 4 major henge monuments, 3 of which were indisputably intended to fall on a common line. To claim it as a coincidence would be the refuge of a knave' (Devereux & Thomson, 1979, 48).

Knavish or not, the paragraph must be criticised, not just for its split infinitive nor for the mistaken seven miles, but for the implication that the four henges, three at Thornborough and one at Nunwick, stand on a straight line that passes through their centres. They do not. And that this line, when extended, aligns upon at least two of the Arrows. It does not. It simply goes through the row which is 570 ft. (174m) long, a 'target' difficult to avoid.

The second 'ley' is worse. It is supposed to lead from the southernmost Arrow to the central stone, extend NNW to the henge at Cana, then through a round barrow before reaching Hutton Moor henge at the end of a line 5 miles long (Devereux & Thomson, 1979, 187-9). The line does not pass through the southernmost and central Arrow. And while it does run through one round barrow it also misses five others. These are not mentioned.

'It will not do for ley critics to try to wriggle out of the implication of this line by considering it an exception to the rule...' (Devereux & Thomson, 1979, 49).

The Devil's Arrows ley is not an exception to the 'rule'. It is not straight. It squirms. It is as full of fallacies as other leys.

Astronomy

Archaeoastronomy, the study of the astronomical practices of ancient peoples, has not had a long life in Britain. Apart from some rather half-hearted surveys at Stonehenge very few sites were examined in detail before the beginning of this century. Most archaeologists were content to regard stone circles and stone rows as ritual monuments in which alignments to the sun or moon were either non-existent or so casually set out as to be of only minor importance.

The work of Alexander Thom from 1954 onwards stimulated some modification of this prejudice. The data presented in his books, particularly that of 1971, suggested that for prehistoric astronomers a stone row was better than a stone circle for observations, and that the moon rather than the sun was their preferred target. It is with these thoughts in mind that this Section is written. Only the sun and moon are considered in it. In prehistoric Britain there is no proof of stars or planets having sightlines directed towards them.

The azimuths or compass-bearings between the three stones of the Devil's Arrows are:—

SSE-NNW	152½°-332½°
SSE-Centre	151½°-331½°
Centre-NNW	154½°-334½°

Within a small deviation, therefore, the row can be said to lie SSE-NNW or, if astronomical, towards the northerly setting or southerly rising of some celestial object.

At the latitude of the Devil's Arrows, 54° 05' 30", if the horizon were level with the observer, the solar and lunar positions would be:

NNW settings:	Sun = 314°	Moon = 324°
SSE risings:	Sun = 134°	Moon = 149°

These azimuths would change according to the heights of the surrounding skyline but only great hills nearby would alter them considerably.

It was Sir Norman Lockyer, Director of the Solar Physics Laboratory, who attempted the first astronomical analysis of the Devil's Arrows (Lockyer, 1909, 365-9). Noticing the stones were not in line he thought them the survivors of a wrecked avenue 700 ft. (213m) long, an over-estimate of 130 ft. (40m).

The only alignment he considered probable was that from the NNW to the central Arrow, his bearing of 155° being somewhat too high. The line pointed neither to winter sunrise nor summer full moonrise. Rather, Lockyer suggested, it was an alignment towards the rising of the bright star Rigil K, \propto *Centuri*, in 3400 BC (ibid, 484, 'Borobridge'), a stellar event that would have warned observers of the imminence of sunrise early in November at the Celtic festival of Samain. Lockyer's date is almost certainly a thousand years too early. By 2000 BC – archaeologically a more likely date for the Devil's Arrows – Rigil was rising over 30° from Lockyer's 155°.

Some years after Lockyer the amateur archaeo-astronomer, Vice-Admiral Boyle Somerville, examined the row using a plan made by a colleague (Somerville, 1927, 17). On it, unfortunately, the distance between the central and NNW Arrow had been plotted as 129 ft. (39.3m), presumably a mistake for 192 ft. (58.5m) which would have been close to the true 198 ft. (60.4m). The survey showed the central and SSE stones about 366 ft. (111.6m) apart, an error of only two yards (1.8m).

On Somerville's plan the bearing between the SSE and central stones was correct. The others were wrong, SSE-NNW by nearly 8°, central to NNW by over 29°. Not surprisingly Somerville failed to find any astronomical alignment in the row. To the

contrary, because the wrongly-transcribed distance caused the angle between the stones to be more acute than it really was, he thought that the Arrows might be the surviving arc of an immense circle nearly 900 ft. (274m) in diameter, 'most unusual, if not unique' (ibid, 18). The error was acknowledged and approximately rectified the very same year in *Antiquity* 1, 1927, 481-2.

In the 1950s Alexander Thom and his son, Archie, visited the row (Thom, 1967, 139, L6/1) but made no plan of it, a matter to be regretted because of the excellence of their surveys.

They made some notes, 'These 3 large menhirs are not in a straight line and it is reported that one has been re-erected and so we do not know the azimuth. Looking to the south there are trees but we guessed the altitude of the horizon to be about $0^\circ.4$. This with the approximate line of the two south stones gives the approximate lunar declination of $-29^\circ.5$ but until archaeologists can tell us which stone was re-erected this is almost valueless' (Thom, Thom & Burl, I, 1990, 42-3) They had been misled about the re-erection of a stone, probably confusing it with the story of an Arrow having been removed.

To the NNW there seemed to be a poorish alignment to the setting of the star Capella, \propto *Aurigae*, (Thom, 1967, 99) and this presents the archaeologist with a problem. Over the centuries stars, unlike the sun and moon, move quite rapidly across the heavens and it is often possible to calculate the year when they were at a given place on the skyline. At 331° , the NNW orientation of the Devil's Arrows, Capella would have set in the years around 2050 BC (Hawkins, 1966, 23), quite close to the suggested date for the erection of the Devil's Arrows.

This is one of the pitfalls of archaeo-astronomical studies. Any line has two ends. The Capella 'alignment' may be entirely coincidental, occurring only because it was opposite the moonrise at the SSE. There are over twenty bright stars and they offer an almost confusing variety of targets. If around 2300 BC an imaginary row of standing stones had purposely been aligned towards the midwinter sunrise at the south-east then, without the builders knowing it, the north-western end would have pointed to the settings of a multiplicity of stars: \propto *Leonis* in 2200 BC; \propto *Ophiuchi* in 2100 BC; \propto *Serpentis* in 1900 BC; β *Geminorum* in 2500 BC; and theta *Aurigae* in 2400 BC.

This would proving nothing except that those stars happened to set there at the time when the midwinter sun was rising at the other end. Rupert Brooke's lines of:

'And there the unregulated sun
Slopes down to rest when day is done,
And wakes a vague unpunctual star...'

should be etched on every archaeo-astronomer's heart.

For the Devil's Arrows there are no acceptable solar or lunar lines towards the north. Towards the south-east the horizon has an altitude of about $0^\circ.9$ which, when refraction is taken into account, is reduced to $0^\circ.5$. Knowing this it is possible to calculate the declinations of the sun and moon.

Declination is an astronomical term for the combination of latitude, azimuth and horizon altitude which together reveal where a celestial body rises and sets on the skyline. At the Devil's Arrows, around 2200 BC, the sun's southern declination was $-23^\circ.9$. The moon's at its southernmost, $-30^\circ.1$.

The respective delinations to the south of the Arrows are:

NNW-Centre.	$d =$	$-31^\circ.50$
NNW-SSE.	$d =$	$-30^\circ.95$
Centre-SSE.	$d =$	$-30^\circ.46$

These are all close to the southernmost summer moonrise and there must be a good chance that this was intended by the people who built the row. Yet had their prime

motive been to construct an astronomical observatory there would have been no need to erect towering blocks as high as 20 ft. (6m) for their backsights and foresights. Stones the height of a man would have been more practical, simpler to use and easier to put up. If the lunar alignment was meant, which is likely, it was not the dominant reason for the row.

A Part of a Sacred Landscape

It has become fashionable to think of ritual monuments – henges, stone circles, rows – as elements within a region of hallowed countryside set aside from settlements. The Devil's Arrows have been regarded in this way. 'They should perhaps be considered as part of the line of sacred sites extending 11 miles to the N, along the course of the Ure – the Thornborough, Nunwick, Hutton Moor and Cana circles' (Thomas, 1976, 244).

It is noticeable that the Arrows stand south of the River Ure. To the north is an irregular triangle of level countryside, some 50 square miles of soils, glacial sands and gravels between the Ure to the south and west, and the River Swale to the east. Within this area are at least two Middle Neolithic cursuses, six henges and a score or more of Early Bronze Age round barrows.

Although the area was forested when one of the cursuses was constructed it is likely to have been only lightly wooded by the Late Neolithic period (Simmons & Tooley, 177). Such parkland would have contrasted with the millstone grit countryside just to the south where even in the Bronze Age there was little evidence of forest clearance.

An outstanding feature of the henges, one of the cursuses and the Devil's Arrows is the manner in which they respect the lie of the land. The Ure and the Swale both flow NNW-SSE between the Pennines to the west and the Howardian Hills and the Yorkshire Moors to the east. The two entrances of each henge also were set out NNW-SSE. The line of the three earthworks at Thornborough were laid out on a similar orientation. Even historic structures followed this pattern, a Roman road, the railway line, the A1. It should be of no wonderment, then, that the Devil's Arrows row observes this alignment.

The chronological sequence of these monuments is broadly known. Recent radio-carbon determinations from cursuses fall into a Middle Neolithic period from about 3500 BC onwards whereas, with one or two early exceptions, the construction of henges tends to occur within a Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age spectrum from around 2700 BC down to 1600 BC (Burl, 1991). The round barrows around them could be expected to have been built in the later centuries of that period. If any correlation can be made between the final, megalithic phase at Stonehenge with its monstrous 'woodworked' sarsens that had been transported twenty miles, then the Devil's Arrows, with stones equally large, equally shaped and similarly from a distant source, may belong to the same Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age transition around 2200-2000 BC. If this dating is correct then the row was put up probably many centuries after the henges and was an addition to rather than a component of a unitary ritual complex.

There are several other reasons for questioning the belief that the line was meant to be part of a sacred landscape, the most cogent being that it does not occupy the same area as the henges and barrows but is separated from them by the Ure. Nor is it close, the nearest site, Cana, being four miles away across the river. It is not intervisible with any of the monuments, another fact that militates against the ley theory. And unlike the others it is built of stone.

Such observations suggest that the Devil's Arrows should be thought of as an isolated stone row, a member of a largely unstudied type of megalithic monument of which there are hundreds in western Europe (Thom, Thom & Burl, 1990, II, 374ff).

Stone Rows

A difficulty in any discussion about the Devil's Arrows is to decide what sort of monument it was. Scholars such as Leland and Camden considered it to be a Roman memorial but comparison with similar lines shows the setting to be prehistoric, of the Neolithic or Bronze Ages.

Both Aubrey (1980, 112) and Somerville (1927, 18) thought the pillars could be the remnants of a spacious stone circle. Lockyer (1909, 365) believed them the remains of an avenue 25 ft. (7.6m) wide.

Lukis (1877, 137) mistakenly suggested they were the survivors of a 700 ft. (213m) long single row of five stones, the fifth being 141 ft. (43m) to the south of the SSE Arrow. A length of 570 ft. (174m) is more plausible. What is unclear is whether it was a single row of a few or of many stones, or even whether the project had been abandoned. Without excavation or a geo-physical survey there can be no certainty but the likelihood is that the site was a simple stone row.

Stone rows are a western phenomenon. It is along the western coasts, in the Western Isles, in northern Scotland, in south-west Ireland and in Brittany that the tradition of stone row building flourished. When this took place is rather uncertain. Except for the avenues which are probably of an earlier period, as may be the grandiose megalithic lines of Carnac in Brittany, the majority of rows seem to have been erected in the centuries between 2400 and 800 BC.

There are several types of linear setting. The simplest is a pair of standing stones. In increasing complexity are short rows of three to six stones; long single or double lines of stones; avenues attached to circles or henges; and multiple settings of rows leading to a cairn or, in Brittany, to a cromlech, a Breton form of stone circle.

Each type of row occupies regions that seldom coincide with others in which there are dissimilar lines (fig. 2). Pairs predominate in central Scotland and in south-west Ireland. Short rows are a phenomenon of the coastlands and islands around south-western Scotland and north-eastern and south-western Ireland. Long single and double rows are a feature of south-west England and north-east Ireland. Avenues were built in Wessex and north-western England. The two regions of multiple rows of stones are perplexingly 750 miles apart in northern Scotland and southern Brittany.

The Devil's Arrows row is most comfortably interpreted as an outlying, early version of a single long row.

Avenues leading to stone circles appear to be the ancestors of single stone rows. The most imposing are those at Avebury and Stanton Drew in Wessex but the earliest may be in the north-west of England. The Shap avenue, others at Moor Divock, Lacra, and Grey Yauds reveal how widespread these dual lines were in the Lake District.

The origins of avenues may have started with the construction of impressive entrances to stone circles. At Castlerigg near Keswick there is no avenue but the wide entrance is defined by two massive pillars, their heights emphasised by the much lower stones flanking them. Later, in some circles two impressive stones were put up just outside the entrance as portals between which participants entered the ring. Such monumental 'gateways' of four high stones at the corners of a rectangle can be seen at Long Meg & Her Daughters and Swinside stone circles in Cumbria and at Ballynoe, Co. Down, across the Irish Sea.

Any enhancement of these four-stone thresholds by the further addition of two or three pairs of stones would have created a short avenue. The dating is obscure. Beakers at the foot of stones in the Kennet Avenue (Burl, 1979, 190) belong to the years when the lines were being added to so that the proposed date of around 2400 BC may not indicate the time when the first short stretch of the avenue was begun. The discovery of food-vessels and urns in the cairns on Moor Divock implies that the connecting avenues there, which

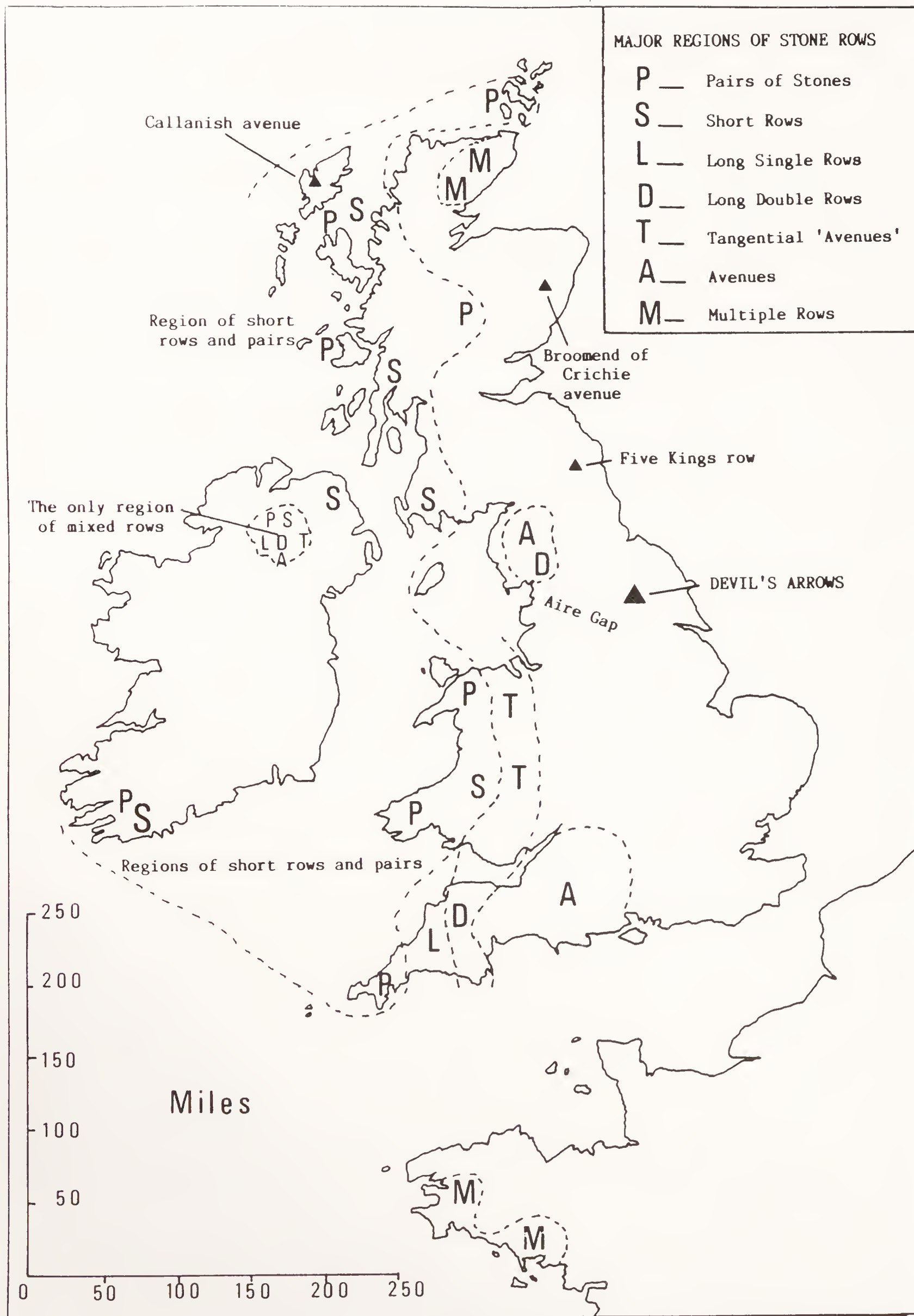


Fig. 2. Distribution of Stone Rows in the British Isles.

must postdate the cairns, could not be much earlier than 2000 BC.

There was persistent change in the design of ritual monuments. The custom of attaching avenues to stone circles endured for only a few centuries. Then, gradually and in different ways, they became self-sufficient structures in themselves. One variation, to be seen at Cerrig Duon (SN 852 206), Powys, was to have an avenue running tangentially past a stone circle. Another, more widespread in the south-west of England, was to erect an avenue on its own.

It was possibly during the last quarter of the third millennium BC that avenues became independent features, two parallel lines of standing stones attached to no stone circle and with no focus other than a burial cairn. On Dartmoor there are not only avenues that do lead to stone circles such as Fernworthy at the very north-eastern corner of the moor but also many other double rows in the same confined area that terminate only at an unobtrusive burial mound or even at nothing at all. The parallel lines at Yelland on Exmoor seem to be just such a site, rising out of the waters of the River Taw towards neither circle, cairn nor menhir.

The majority of these double rows, ‘avenues’ without stone circles, lie inside a band 80 to 100 miles west of the avenues in Wessex. It is noteworthy that still farther west are dozens of simpler lines, the well-known single rows of Dartmoor. The short rows and pairs even more to the west in Ireland and the Western Isles may have been the final manifestations of a linear tradition that began over a millennium and a half before in the English Lake District.

A tentative chronology for rows, based on C-14 assays and artefactual evidence (Thom, Thom & Burl, 1990, II, 380-7) would be:–

	BC	bc
Portals	3000-?	2350-?
Avenues	2600-2000	2050-1600
‘Tangential’ Avenues } Double Long Rows }	2400-1800	1900-1450
Single Long Rows	2200-1600	1800-1300
Short Rows	1800-1200	1500-1000
Pairs of Stones	1400-1000	1100-800

The multiple rows may have dates comparable with those for avenues. At present such a table can be little more than the crudest guide to the development of megalithic lines in western Europe. Within this framework of ever-increasing economy of design the Devil’s Arrows would probably be an early long single row.

The distribution of such long rows lies at the outer fringes of the zones of avenues and free-standing double rows. Nine out of ten are either in Northern Ireland or on Dartmoor. The stones are rarely high. Some are so low as to be almost completely concealed in the shin-high grass. They tend, however, to increase in height when approaching a circle or cairn.

Their sinuous nature argues against them containing any precise astronomical alignment whereas the path they take, avoiding precipitous river-banks and steep hills, makes a good case for thinking of them as processional ways, ‘Stones set up as memorials or tributes of respect to the dead man who is buried at the head of the row’ (Baring-Gould, 1907, 62), an author who felicitously compared the stones to ‘a procession of cricketers in flannels stalking over the moor’ (ibid, 60). What can not be questioned about many of the rows is their association with burial, the majority leading uphill towards an encircled cairn or cist. Others, however, on the outer edges of the heartland,

like the Yelland row on Exmoor (SS 491 329), the Nine Maidens in Cornwall (SX 937 676), and the Parc Y Meirw line in south-west Wales (SM 998 358), are connected to no barrow or cairn.

The Devil's Arrows

The Devil's Arrows are remote from other megaliths. The standing stone at Rudston (TA 097 677) and the Bull Stone (SE 206 435) near Guiseley are 30 miles east and 24 miles SSW respectively. Stone circles such as the Twelve Apostles (SE 126 451) on Ilkley Moor are over 20 miles to the south-west. The High Bridestones (NZ 850 046) on the Yorkshire Moors, probably a ruined pair of Four-Poster stone circles, (Burl, 1988, 74-5) are nearly 50 miles to the north-east. The nearest stone row to the Arrows is the unimpressive Five Kings (NT 955 015) almost 90 miles NNW in the low hills west of Rothbury. With its four head-high stones in a line no more than 59 ft. (18m) long this far-off site cannot be considered a prototype for the Devil's Arrows. The origins of that setting must be sought elsewhere.

There are no rows in Wessex, only avenues like those at Avebury and Stanton Drew. There are many long rows on Dartmoor and in north-east Ireland but those regions are several hundred miles from Boroughbridge. The most likely area is much closer, just east of the Lake District. Until recently there were numerous avenues and rows in and around the Eden Valley some 60 miles WNW of Boroughbridge.

At Newton Reigny, at Newbiggin, and at Crosby Ravensworth there were 'remnants of former alignments of megaliths' (Taylor, 1886, 342-3). At Penhurrock (NY 629 104) 'a line of fallen stones stretches...up the hill in a N.N.E. direction for a distance of 112 yards' (Soden-Smith, 1870, 201). At Broad Field (NY 425 445) 'several large stones' had been 'an avenue of erect stones' (Rooke, 1792, 109; Hutchinson, II, 430-3). Avenues led to stone circles at Broomrigg, Lacra, Moor Divock, at the Kirk in Lancashire (Burl, 1976, 61). Many of these lines have now been grossly damaged or demolished so that Cumbria is visually no longer an obvious candidate for the inspiration of the Devil's Arrows. But gigantic rows existed there.

At Shap (NY 563 133) William Camden noticed 'large stones in the form of Pyramids (some of them 9 foot high and 14 thick) set almost in a direct line, and at equal distances, for a mile together' (Camden, 1695, 808). Today most of the stones have gone but there are still one or two monsters such as the re-erected Goggleby Stone (NY 557 151), 7 ft. 9 ins. (2.4m) high, set upside down like an upturned cone, and weighing over 20 tons (Clare, 1978; 1981, 15-17).

Stukeley saw the stones in 1725. 'They are very large, and prodigiously hard...The people say these were set up by enchantment' (1776, 42). As late as 1800 much of the line survived. Sir Richard Colt Hoare commented on the 'most curious and singular piece of antiquity. It consists of a long avenue of large stones' but even then 'many of those lying in corn and meadow lands have been blown up and removed' (Hoare, 1983, 138).

People coming from Yorkshire along the Aire Gap would have seen these towering lines. The route, moreover, would have taken them past a tempting litter of large, loose slabs and it may have been the combination of Cumbrian stone rows and the availability of millstone grit that resulted in the erection of the Devil's Arrows.

The Aire Gap, a break in the Pennines near Skipton, offered a crossing of the hills some two hundred feet [60m] lower than any other pass between the border of Scotland and the Peak District (Cowling, 1946, 4). It had strong Bronze Age associations. 'Men, bronze goods, and ideas entered the county [Yorkshire] along the Rother Valley, over the Stainmore Pass, and above all through the Aire Gap' (Elgee & Elgee, 1933, 73). The Gap took wayfarers through the forested tracts of millstone grit near Knaresborough where huge, detached blocks lay in profusion. The Bull Stone, also of millstone grit,

stood nearby (Cowling, 1946, 115).

The site for the Devil's Arrows was chosen almost certainly because of the proximity of the River Ure. Many avenues and rows were put up near water, the Kennet Avenue at Avebury, Stanton Drew by the River Chew, Callanish by Loch Roag among them (Burl, 1976, 78, 153-5).

Nicholas Thomas (1955, 445) remarked on the 'hint that *part* of the ceremonial in the average henge monument may have been bound up with the very ancient tradition of the Sacred River' and 'an archetypal creation rite'. 'The position of a river in folklore... is both ancient and sinister, and the idea that a river is a divine or semi-divine entity, claiming human lives at intervals, has been perpetuated in some cases to the present day' (ibid, 444, quoting A. C. Thomas). The river may have been vital to the ceremonies at the Devil's Arrows.

It has been suggested (Tutin, 1954, 14) that the row's function was directional, pointing NNW towards a prehistoric ford. A professional survey, however, revealed that the river is 10 to 13 ft. (3-4m) deep by the Arrows Bridge (Longthorne, pers. comm.) A ford can be discounted.

Instead, looking northwards but to the SSE the Devil's Arrows possesses the features of a classical stone row:

- i. it leads uphill from water;
- ii. it has a blocking- or terminal-stone at its lower end;
- iii. the stones of the row are graded in height with the tallest at the head of the gradient near a stretch of level ground;
- iv. The row has an apparent alignment on the most southerly midsummer rising moon.

The irregular spacing of the stones remains puzzling but some cautionary words merit repeating: 'In considering megalithic monuments of any kind, it must never be forgotten that what we see may be nothing but the skeleton of the original structure. There may have been mud, wicker-work, or wooden additions which were an essential element in their ritual use' (Macalister, 1921, 304).

This was wise. Excavations in 1978-80 at a pair of stone rows near Saint-Just in Brittany found postholes in the gaps between stones and 'another break in the same row had been filled with a little free-standing ring of posts or by a flimsy hut. A hearth had burned in it' (Burl, 1985, 91-2). Given the population of skilled wood-workers to be expected in the countryside around the Devil's Arrows it is arguable that rather than haul heavy stone after heavy stone to the site people had preferred to erect just four or five pillars as markers, lining the wide spaces between them with great posts, carved, perhaps coloured, with symbols that are now lost.

There is the slightest of hints that rituals may have taken place by the row at important times of the year such as Midsummer's Day.

Stukeley recorded that 'the great panegyre of the Druids, the midsummer meeting of all the country round...the remembrance hereof is transmitted in the present great fair held at Burroughbridge on St. Barnabas Day' (Lukis, 1885, 358-9), and 'Boroughbridge fair is now on S. Barnabas, the summer solstice, which I take to have succeeded the old british games here celebrated in times of the Druids' (ibid, 376).

The Feast Day of St. Barnabas is on June 11, ten days before the present date of June 21 for Midsummer's Day but Stukeley was not in error. In 1725 the longest day was not June 21 but June 11.

In the early eighteenth century Britain was still using the Julian calendar of 46 BC which, by miscalculation, had been 'losing' a day every 163 years since its inception. Roman Catholic countries in Europe corrected this in 1582, adopting the new calendar of Pope Gregory, adding ten days to their pre-Gregorian dates. Protestant states ignored

the innovation and it was not until 1752 that Britain and her colonies reluctantly accepted the necessity for change.

In recording the Midsummer Day fair Stukeley may have been correct in thinking that the celebration was the survival of some prehistoric festival at the Devil's Arrows.

What rituals attended the yearly occasions of the midsummer sunrise, or every nineteen years when the rising midsummer moon reached its southernmost, is not known. One might imagine great assemblies, processions from the river passing along the row to the head of the rise but there is nothing to be seen. Water-rituals leave nothing behind them. Charcoal and burnt patches in some stone circles and rows offer dim glimpses of fire-ceremonies but the flames are as wraithlike as the people who lit them.

'The especial purpose, however, for which these stones were originally erected, whether for landmarks, metae of games, monuments of victorious war, passive instruments of sanguinary sacrifice, or as actual deities – history and tradition being silent – still remains to be determined; and the question is commended to the best judgement of the enlightened modern antiquary'.

Smith, 1852, 9

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BRONZE AGE ACTIVITY ON THE ESTON HILLS, CLEVELAND

By B. E. Vyner

The Eston Hills are an outlier of the North York Moors, comprising an east-west lying ridge overlooking the estuary of the River Tees and separated from the main body of the Moors by a shallow valley in which lies the town of Guisborough. Because of their proximity to Middlesbrough and, latterly, the Teesside conurbation the archaeological sites on the Eston Hills have been the subject of various antiquarian examination. The focus for early consideration and comment was the scarp edge fortification at Eston Nab, situated at the highest point along the northern edge of the hills and recently reported upon in detail (Vyner 1989), although it was the burial mounds which claimed the attention of 19th century excavators.

The Eston Hills are roughly trapezoidal in outline, their upper surfaces, generally south facing, lie between 150 and 200 m OD. The hills are bifurcated by the valley of the Moordale Beck, a division that tends to be emphasised by differences in land use, and which partly derives from the soil types. The lower slopes of the hills have Dunkeswick soils, loamy soils over clay subsoils, while the upper slopes are mantled with soils of the Rivington Association, being well-drained loams over a sandstone base (Jarvis *et al.* 1984, 165-6, 263). To the south the lower plateau and lower slopes are intensively farmed, with alternating arable and pastoral agriculture. The north-west quadrant of the hills is still open moorland, while to the north-east mixed agriculture is practised in fields sheltered by stands of conifers, some of which were planted in the mid-19th century (Ord 1846, 92). The area appears to have been taken in for agriculture in the early 19th century, when at least one Bronze Age monument is recorded as having been damaged or destroyed (Ord 1846, 108).

Ordnance Survey maps show that the landscape of the Eston Hills has changed remarkably little over the last century-and-a-half; there has been some felling of conifer plantations and, over the past twenty years, arable agriculture has intensified. The high point of the scarp edge, east of the Nab, is now the site of a number of telecommunication masts and dishes, the development of which has coincided with the abandonment of the ironstone workings which are prominent on the 1946 air photographs but whose sites are now barely recognisable. For the present purposes the small scale vertical air surveys provide little additional information for the moorland areas of the hills; however, the burial mound at Fleck's Plantation, no longer evidenced on the ground, can be seen to have survived into the early 1970s (SMR 1393, Meridian 58 72 226). Although the Eston Hills have been the subject of regular archaeological air survey for more than a decade (Still, Vyner and Bewley 1989), as a result of which several cropmarks of later prehistoric type have been recorded, no evidence for earlier activity was seen until 1989, when cropmark evidence for the ditches of three destroyed round barrows was found. In 1990 a further site was noted as a vestigial mound during air survey.

The extent to which the modern distribution of monuments has been affected by agriculture is worth consideration. There are no upstanding prehistoric monuments on the southern half of the hills; here the only early sites known until recently comprised the pre-Roman Iron Age enclosure cropmarks at Barnaby Side and Park Wood. Sporadic fieldwalking has failed to recover additional evidence for prehistoric activity, but air survey during drought conditions in 1989 recovered cropmark evidence for a single small well-defined ring ditch which does not compare well with the three putative barrow sites

found on the east end of the hills, and which may instead be connected with other elements of ritual activity, evidenced elsewhere in east Cleveland (Vyner 1988). Two considerably larger circular ditched enclosures are also evidenced as cropmarks in this area, which, noticeably, lies south of the distribution of Bronze Age burial monuments. Since regular air reconnaissance has been undertaken for over a decade, the recent discovery of these sites should prompt caution in concluding that there is relatively little evidence for Bronze Age funerary or other activity on the southern areas of the hills. In the moorland area the few surviving remains are taken to represent a reasonably complete record of what originally existed.

The north-eastern part of the hills, which has remained in agricultural use, has drawn the attention of a succession of field workers (Elgee 1930, 143-4; Crawford 1980) who concluded that few monuments had survived the agricultural attrition, accepting the underlying suggestion of extensive damage put forward by Ord. Field survey undertaken during 1987 and 1988, however, has revealed the unexpected survival of a number of monuments, some of impressive size, as well as accurately locating a number of sites for the first time (Fig. 1). Early cartographic information on the Eston Hills is unfortunately lacking prior to the Ordnance Survey maps of the mid-nineteenth century, but the accounts of Ord (1846) and Elgee (1930), combine with the use of air photographic cover since 1946 and intensive fieldwalking to allow the conclusion that the majority of the Bronze Age monuments once existing on the northern part of the hills is now accounted for, although the absence of monuments in several fields in areas where monuments are otherwise well represented is particularly marked and may reflect especially intensive land use or determined removal of the evidence.

By the early 19th century the examination of the Bronze Age burial mounds of the Eston Hills had begun; Ord records the discovery of five urns in a barrow on Court Green 'a few years ago' (Ord 1846, 108), and listed a total of eight burial mounds on the hills (*Ibid*, 121-2, note 2). Although his list is not immediately decipherable, his Tumuli I and II, near Eston Nab, may be identified fairly readily on the basis of Ord's description of location and mound structure. Referring to Ord's table it then becomes apparent that the distances (in yards) that he notes are actually distances from one burial mound to another, working eastwards. It is probable that Ord paced these distances, as we might do today, and no doubt intervening trees and fences would have necessitated some detours as he made his way from one substantial and recognisable burial mound to another, but his distances allow the identification of the remaining burial mounds in his list with some certainty (Appendix A). His Tumulus VI, which he states to be on Court Green, is the one which had been excavated previously, much confusion surrounds this site; it is not Mount Pleasant, as suggested by Sockett (1971), and it is, *pace* Elgee (1930, 154), surely the one referred to by Thurnam (1871, 333 and 354). It would seem that this productive mound is the substantial barrow (SMR 1317) noted only recently near the scarp edge above Lazenby Bank. Although somewhat to the west of the area known today as Court Green, before enclosure it might well have been considered to be so located, a suggestion supported by early Ordnance Survey maps. The substantial mound has a large depression excavated in its centre and fits well into the suggested interpretation of Ord's list. The suggestion of the former existence of a stone circle in this area (Ord 1846, 108, note 2) may refer to peristaliths removed during the levelling of a burial mound, although the extent to which any mounds were demolished at this time is questionable, given the extent of their survival.

Most of the surviving burial mounds on the Eston Hills show signs of having been dug into in the past, even though very few records of such activity survive. Ord excavated mounds, unspecified, at the east end of the hills (*Ibid* 106, note 3), and it is recorded that a Stokesley man, G. M. Tweddell, opened a burial mound in the mid-1860s 'a few

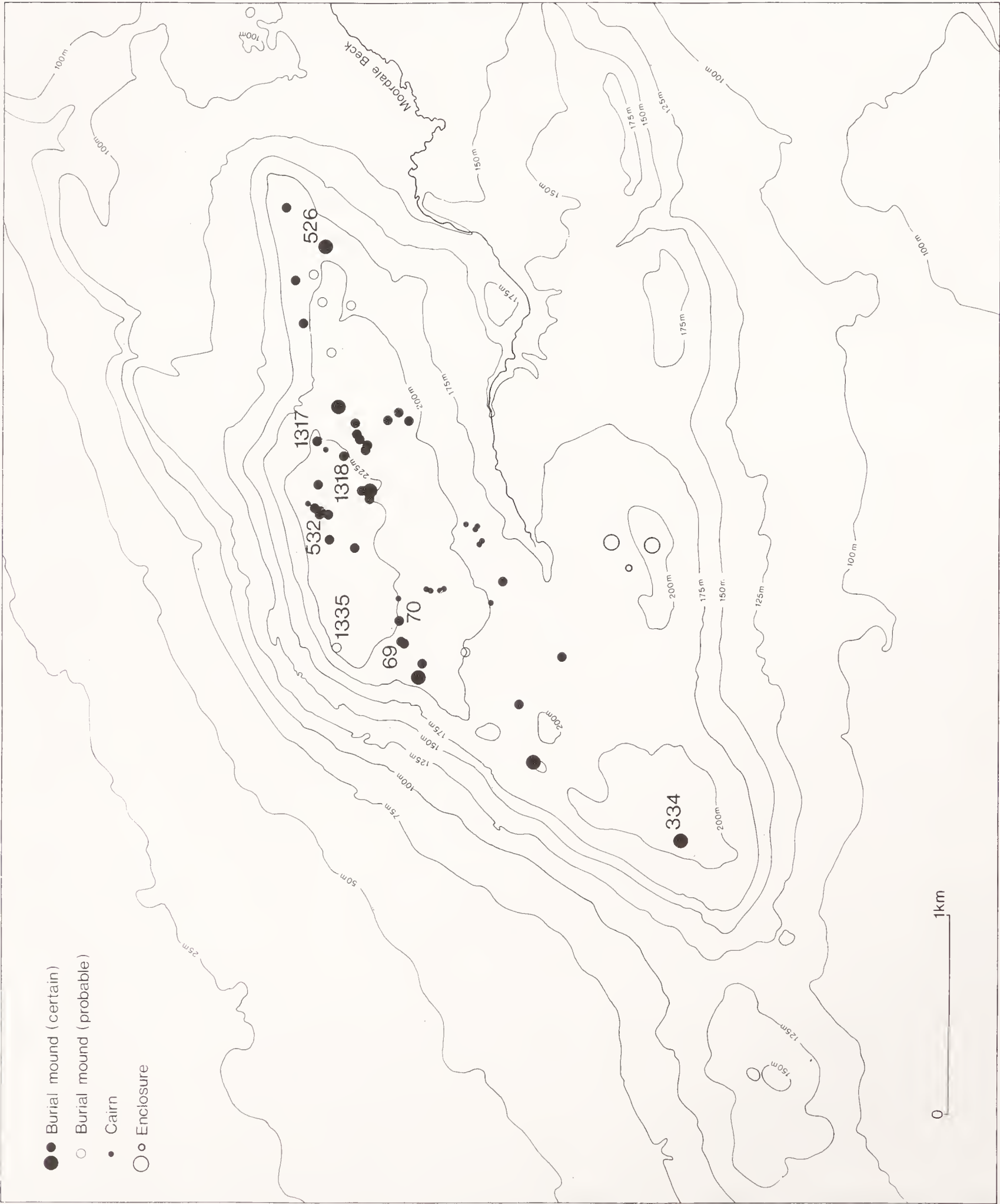


Fig. 1. Distribution of Bronze Age monuments on the Eston Hills, showing prominent and other burial mounds, cairns and cropmark enclosures.

hundred yards west of the Beacon tower' (Gordon 1869; 71). This may be identified as a mound which was rediscovered during the current survey (SMR 1337). Elgee also records that a Middlesbrough man, Dr. Craster, found an urn full of bones in a barrow on the moor (Elgee 1930, 16 and 154). The local antiquary William Hornsby re-excavated Court Green Howe in 1923; although he did not publish the results of his work some of the finds survive in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough. It may be that another mound was excavated around this time, since there is circumstantial evidence for a second Beaker from the hills (Sockett *pers. comm.*). When conducting his excavations on the hillfort at Eston Nab in 1927 Elgee encountered sherds of food vessel and fragments of burnt bone near the scarp edge within the defended area (CNFC 1929, 33-5), an area where the last surviving traces of a burial mound may be seen today (Vyner 1989, 65). The substantial barrow at the west end of the hills, Mount Pleasant, was examined between 1950 and 1952 (Sockett 1971) and a smaller mound was excavated in 1970 (Goddard, Brown and Spratt 1978). As part of the current assessment Cleveland County Archaeology Section excavated a low burial mound in 1986 (SMR 1318), which proved to have been investigated in antiquity, and a small stone cairn was examined in 1988 (SMR 547).

THE EXCAVATION OF A BURIAL MOUND ON WILTON MOOR, KIRKLEATHAM, 1976

This small mound, not hitherto recorded, was noted lying near the modern track across Wilton Moor, at NZ 5773 1829 (SMR 1318). It was in imminent danger of being destroyed by deep ploughing. The mound consisted of a shallow, regularly-shaped swelling, 11 m in diameter and no more than .25 m high. There were slight traces of a surrounding ditch (Fig. 2). The regular shape of the mound combined with its low stature to suggest that it had escaped the attentions of earlier barrow diggers. Excavations was undertaken during May and June 1986. The removal of the overlying ploughsoil, between .20 m and .30 m in thickness, revealed the mound to consist largely of a heap of mixed brown, grey and orange clay subsoil with some small and medium sized stones intermixed. This proved to be the backfill from an earlier excavation which had involved the removal and replacement of the greater part of the original mound. This excavation had apparently consisted of a wide trench driven in from the southern side and extending nearly across the mound, a technique frequently employed by Canon Atkinson in his excavations in the neighbourhood (Atkinson 1891, 142).

The excavation appeared to have involved the removal of much of the mound down to and, in places, a little below, the sealed ancient ground surfaces. The only undisturbed portion of the barrow was found to consist of a low crescent around its northern sector. This had a maximum surviving height of .33 m, and more generally stood no more than .25 high. The original diameter of the mound appeared to be between 9 and 9.50 m. It was found that the base level of the mound originally consisted of a core of stone, for the most part angular sandstone fragments, but also including a few water-rolled stones. This stone core was no more than two stones in depth in the surviving sector, and had a maximum height of .20 m. This had been capped by a mound of clean clay, presumably derived from the surrounding ditch. It would appear that stone and rubbish had been dumped on the mound as the result of agricultural activity over the last century, as has happened with other mounds in the area, and this may have served to counter any more recent erosion. It is assumed, then, that the overall volume of the mound had not changed greatly, in which case its original height may have been in the order of 1.00 m. The ditch surrounding the mound had an average external diameter of 11.50 m, but in plan is a slightly flattened circle. The average depth was .30 m and its width varied from 1.00 to 1.20 m. The ditch was broken by a causeway, .80 m wide, on the southern side.

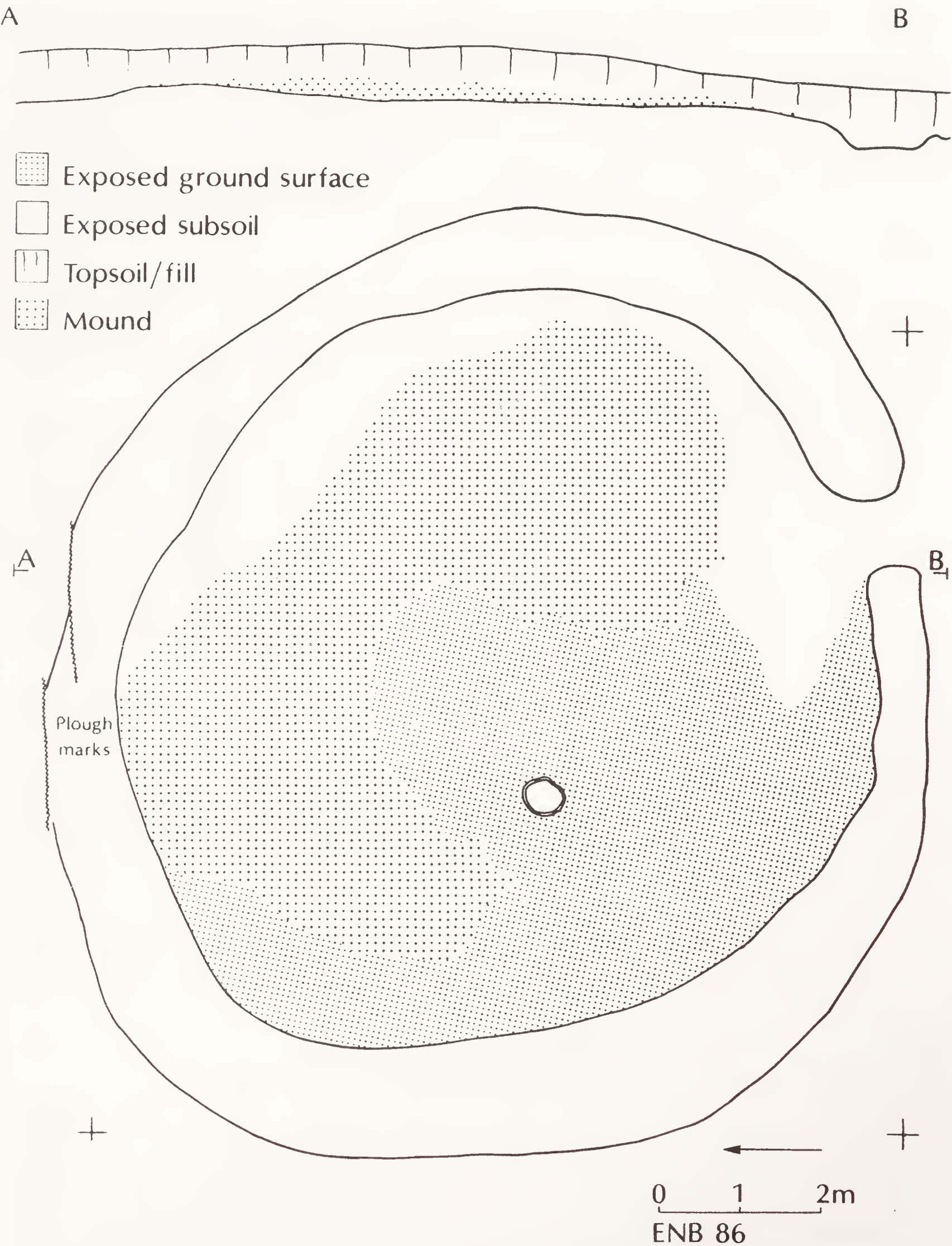


Fig. 2. Plan and section of the Wilton Moor barrow (SMR 1318).

A single large sandstone slab set at the mound base in the western sector in an area where the overlying mound material had almost entirely been removed proved to cover a pit containing an urned cremation. The pit had a cylindrical profile and was .40 m in diameter, with a maximum depth of .50 m. The Collared Urn it contained had been inverted and held a quantity of cremated bone. The urn did not rest on the floor of the

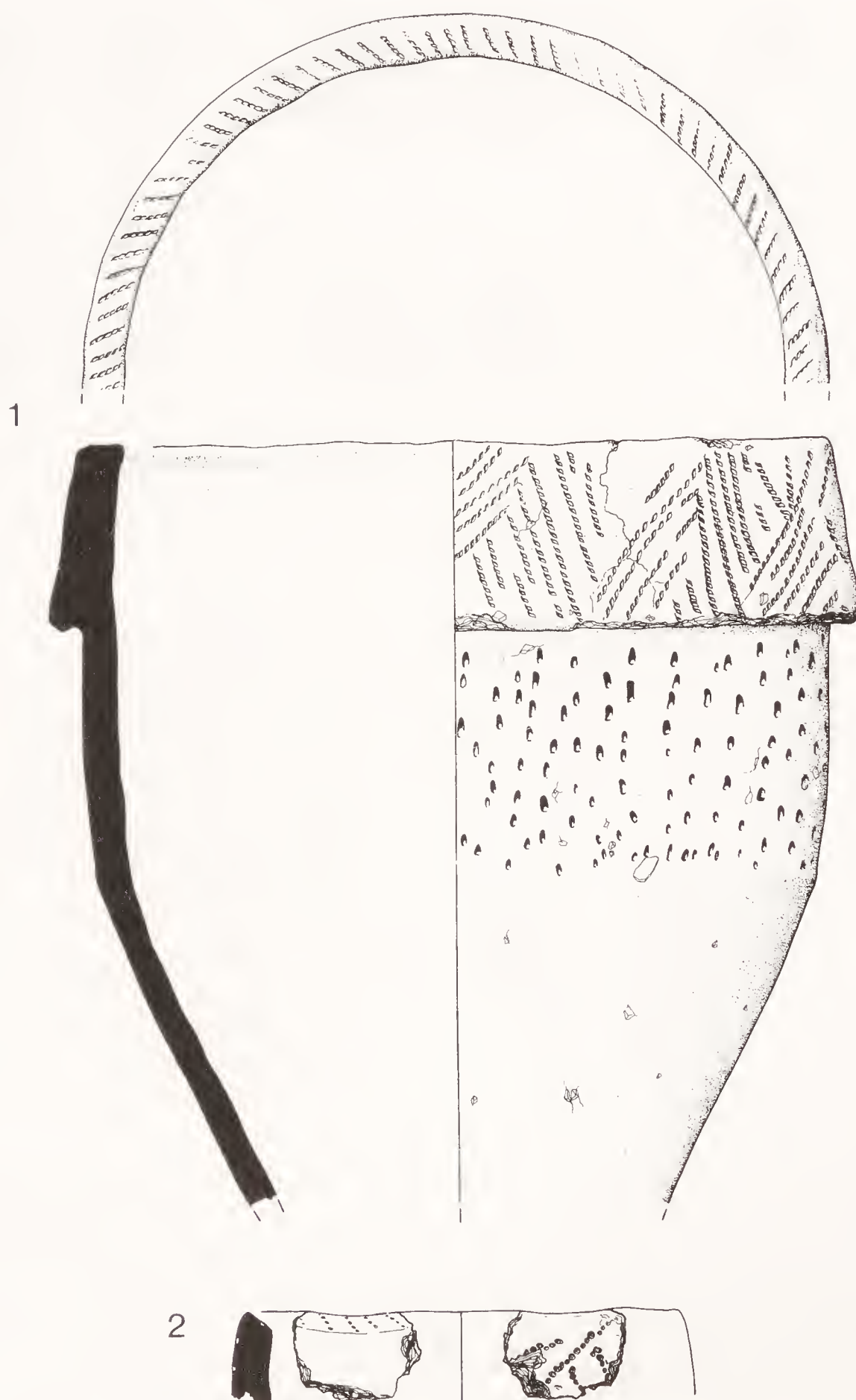


Fig. 3. Pottery from the Wilton Moor barrow (scale 1:4).

The flint used is of various colours: the majority (*c.* 61%) is mid-grey with some mottling and a soft, fresh cortex; mid-to light grey coloured flint with hard, rolled cortex accounts for a further 35%. The remainder comprises pink and orange stained flint. Quite a lot of the flint has been burnt. Small unworked pebbles of yellow flint were also recovered but do not seem to have been used. The condition of the cortex of the artefactual flint suggests that it was obtained from different sources and brought to the site.

Although only a small quantity of flint was recovered, it is clear that it is dominated by a flake-based technology. Although no re-assembly was attempted, several flakes apparently from the same nodule were found, perhaps from a single knapping episode. Blades or pieces with blade-like proportions are also present in small numbers, including

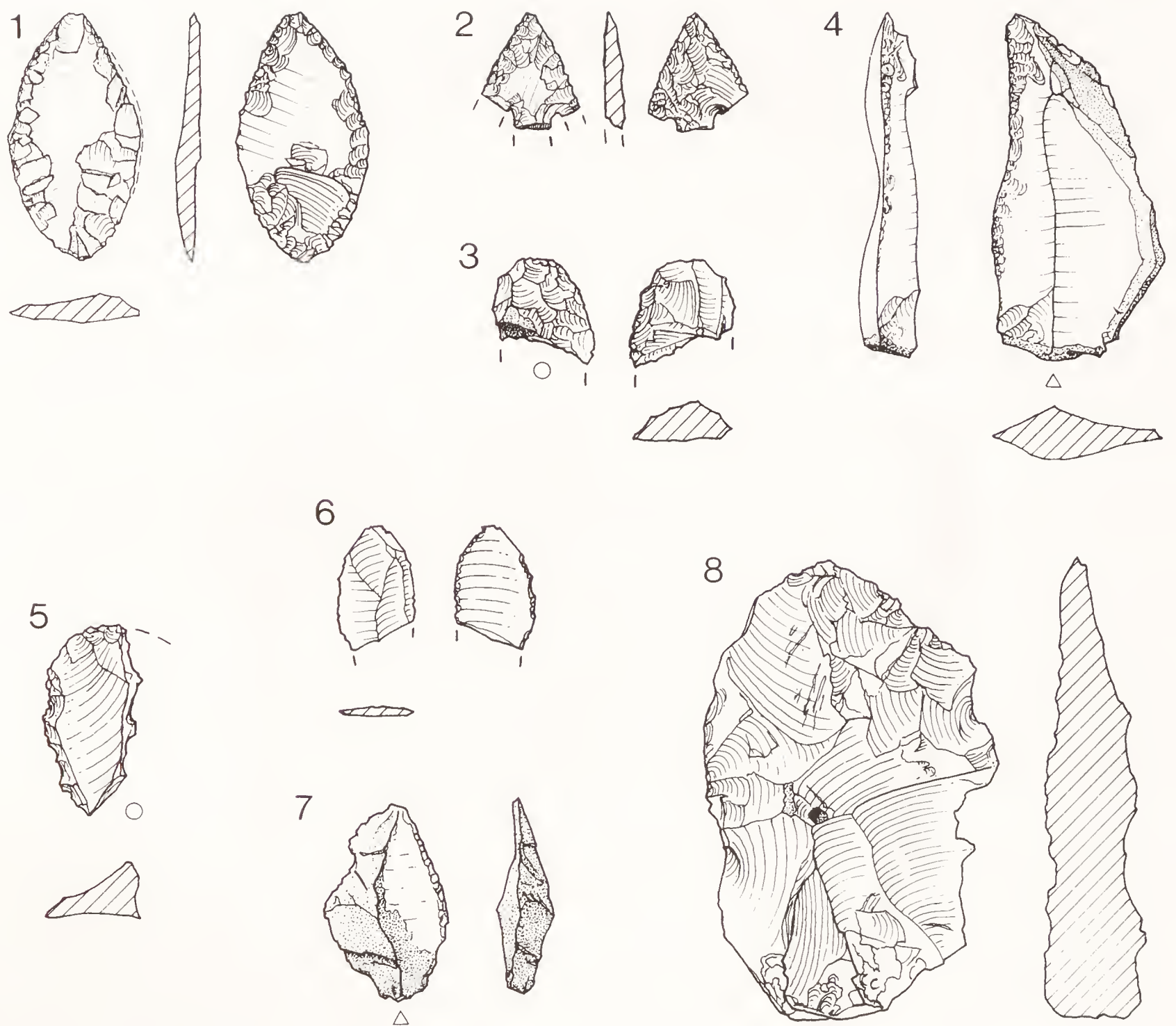


Fig. 4. Flint from the Wilton Moor barrow (scale 2:3).

the retouched tip, no. 6. The cores are varied; one is of pebble flint and is single platform, another has been rejuvenated and reflaked. The flat core, no. 8, is unusual in that it is flaked all round its circumference like a discoidal core, except that the back is flat and cortical, only a very narrow platform being present around the edges.

The retouched pieces include a leaf-shaped arrowhead, no. 2, (Green's Sutton type); two somewhat irregular scrapers, a fragment of what appears to have been a bifacially flaked knife, no. 3, a knife with semi-invasive scale flaking along one edge, no. 4, two pieces, possible piercers, with minimal nibbling retouch on converging sides, executed bifacially or from alternate faces, forming a pointed end, two flakes with edge retouch, no. 7, and a distal fragment of a blade with inverse retouch, no. 6.

Some of the flint which has become incorporated in the mound may have come from a disturbed burial, but most almost certainly derives from some earlier activity which was disturbed by the mound builders; this may be related to the charcoal deposits beneath the mound. Technologically the flint-based industry is probably later neolithic or Bronze Age in character; blades, although traditionally associated with mesolithic industries, do occur in small proportions in other industries (Healy 1985, 183, 188). The flat, almost sub-discoidal core has its closest affinities in the late neolithic industry at Hurst Fen (Clark *et al.* 1960, 217, Fig. 10) and in later neolithic industries (Saville 1981, 48). Leaf-shaped arrowheads, whilst traditionally associated with earlier neolithic industries, do continue in use, if not in production, into the Bronze Age (Green 1984, 33).

and have been found deposited with Collared Urns (Green 198, 91). The barbed and tanged arrowhead is restricted to early Bronze Age contexts (Green 1984, 19, table 1). The knives of non-Beaker type could well be from an early Bronze Age industry (Healy 1985, 201 and F39).

The Cremated Bone by Sally Parker

A total of 2041 g of cremated bone was recovered, of which 802 g was identifiable. The remains were mixed with soil, small stones and charcoal. A small quantity of animal bone was also present. The human bone fragments ranged in size from less than 5 to 115 mm, with the majority between less than 5 and 45 mm. Most of the bone was white in colour, suggesting that cremation had been carried out at a consistently high temperature. The bones which tended to be less well burnt were those of the hands and feet. Most parts of the skeleton were represented, with the exception of the lower spine and sacrum. Preservation varied from very small fragments of scapula body to the near complete mandible and maxilla. Preservation of the teeth was so good that it was possible to replace and identify many of them.

Two individuals are evidenced in the cremated remains, an identification based on the presence of two fragments of right supra-orbital bone and a long bone shaft with epiphyseal surface. The main representation is probably an adolescent or young adult. Amongst the fully formed bone was a fragment of iliac crest exhibiting an epiphyseal surface. The scale of this bone prevents it being matched with either the second supra-orbital bone or the long bone mentioned above. It is perfectly possible for this to be associated with the fully formed remains as the different parts of the skeleton fuse at different ages. The evidence of the teeth also suggests this was a young adult; the well preserved state of the third molars suggests that they had been protected from the fire by being incompletely erupted through the jaw. The pelvic fragment and the teeth suggest an age at death of between 15 and 20 years. The supra-orbital fragment and the long bone are very small and indicate the presence of an infant, possibly between less than one and five years old at death. It was not possible to reach any conclusion concerning the sex of these individuals, nor was there any information on pathological conditions.

Radiocarbon dates

Two radiocarbon dates have been obtained; one (ENB 86 11) was derived from a charcoal deposit beneath the mound which may represent burning associated with the mortuary use of the mound. The second determination (ENB 86 18) is from charcoal found deposited in the pit containing the collared urn; as noted above, the base of the pit contained a single Collared Urn sherd as well as this charcoal. The dates are consistent with the material perhaps deriving from the same source and it may be postulated that the charcoal in the burial pit derived from the scatter found on the ground surface sealed beneath the mound. There remains the problem, given early dates from this material, of whether or not the charcoal scatter was associated with the mortuary process evidenced by the Collared Urns. Early Bronze Age activity on the Eston Hills is evidenced in the Beaker deposited in the burial mound at Mount Pleasant, at the western end of the hills, discussed below. The assemblages from the other excavated mounds, including this one, are all incomplete.

The cremation deposit had been placed in a pit sealed by a stone set on the old ground surface, suggesting that the burial had been made before the mound was built. The radiocarbon determinations support the hypothesis that the debris at the bottom of the cremation pit is derived from the deposit on the surrounding ground surface, but it would seem that this evidenced events that took place some time before the deposition

of the Collared Urn. There was no evidence to suggest the nature of the early activity here, but the presence of a sherd of Collared Urn does not preclude a domestic context (Longworth 1984, 76-8), while the inclusion of lithic material in the body of the mound is further evidence for local activity during the late neolithic and early Bronze Age period.

ENB 86 11 HAR 9762 3830 \pm 80 b.p.

ENB 86 18 HAR 9763 4030 \pm 90 b.p.

THE EXAMINATION OF A SMALL CAIRN ON WILTON MOOR, KIRKLEATHAM

This feature comprised a low cairn of mixed boulders with a diameter of 10m and a maximum height of .40cm (NZ 5775 1838, SMR 547). Excavation carried out in October and November 1988 revealed this to be no more than a collection of boulders apparently recently cleared from the surrounding field and placed on an outcropping table of sandstone bedrock. The only finds comprised broken iron ploughshares and the conclusion must be that this cairn was the product of comparatively recent clearance.

Other excavated Bronze Age monuments on the Eston Hills

There are a number of assemblages of excavated material from burial mounds on the Eston Hills, in addition to the finds from excavations at the palisaded enclosure and later fortification at Eston Nab (Vyner 1989). An attempt has been made to trace and catalogue the excavated Bronze Age material and the more significant stray finds of this period from the hills; occasional finds of flint implements are not listed here but are recorded in the Cleveland County Sites and Monuments record.

COURT GREEN HOWE, KIRKLEATHAM

This substantial stone and earth mound (NZ 5879 1838, SMR 526) is recorded as having been excavated by Wm. Hornsby (Elgee 1930, 154), an excavation thought to have been undertaken in 1923, but this was probably not the first time it had been investigated. It seems inevitable that this was among the monuments on the eastern end of the hills that Ord refers to as having been excavated by himself, if it had not already been examined (Ord 1846, 121-2, note 2). The finds are now in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough (A1976/101), with the exception of the flint blade, no. 6, currently with Mr E W Sockett.

Pottery (Fig. 5)

- 1 Collared Urn, external surfaces varying from brown to buff, interior dark grey. The fabric contains small and medium sized dolorite grits. External decoration comprises rows of whipped cord 'maggot' impressions, extending from the top of the collar down to the shoulder. The interior of the collar has infilled triangular panels of whipped cord impressions. Primary Series (Longworth 1984, 165). A1976/102.
- 2 Collared Urn, represented by only a few fragments, similar in fabric to 1 above, the exterior is orange/brown in colour, the interior is grey/brown. The collar is decorated with panels of cord impressions and the shoulder has thin 'maggot' cord impressions. There was no evidence for internal decoration on the surviving sherds. Primary Series (Longworth 1984, 165), A1976/102.
- 3 Accessory vessel, internal and external surfaces grey with patches of orange, very simply constructed with no decoration. 1923/11.
- 4 Food Vessel, represented by a single split sherd, orange/pink fabric with impressed cord decoration. A1976/102.
- 5 Food Vessel, represented by a single sherd, grey/brown fabric and surfaces, deeply incised decoration on exterior, indented decoration on upper rim surface. A1976/102.

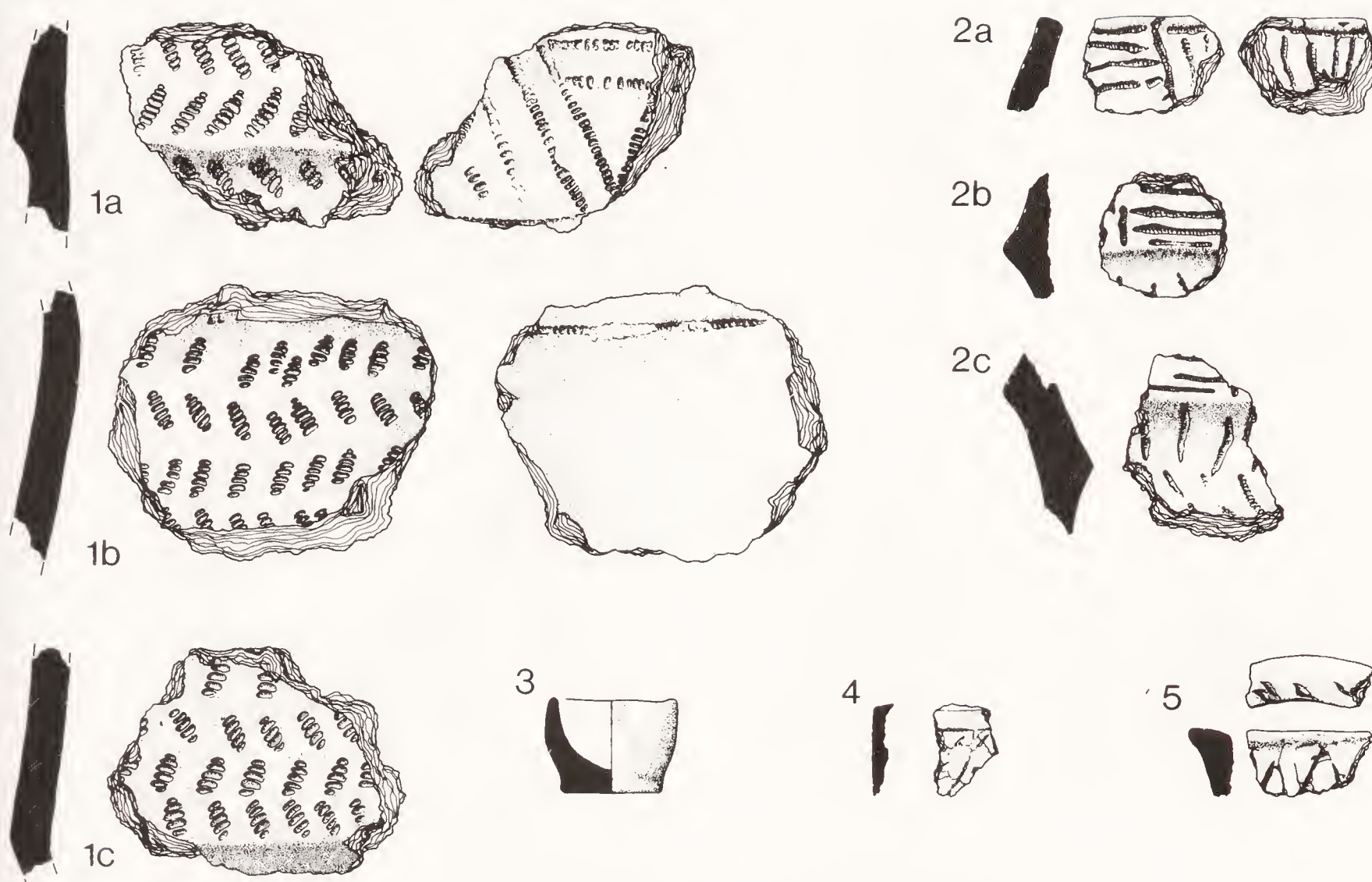


Fig. 5. Pottery from Court Green Howe (scale 1:4).

Flint by Elizabeth Healey (Fig. 6)

Seventeen pieces of flint are amongst the excavated finds, though there is no indication of association or context. In addition there is a stray piece no. 6 found by E. Sockett. The flint can be ascribed to the following categories:

Cores	2* (plus 1 stray)	Scraper	1
Flakes	10	Unclassified	2
Hammer stone	1	Total 17 (+1)	
Arrowhead	1		

Much of the flint (13 pieces) is burnt. Of the rest, three pieces are of pale grey flint, one with soft cortex and one hard, one is of pinky flint and one orange flint.

The flakes, which are mostly fragmenting due to being burnt, are squat and where butt-ends survive it is clear that they had wide striking platforms, pronounced bulbs of percussion and that the edges of the platforms were untrimmed. Some also terminate in hinge-fractures. Only one flake has blade-like proportions and is unburnt, no. 2. This results from a different technology from the flakes in that it has a narrow striking platform, however, unlike true blades, the dorsal scarring is from flakes struck at right angles, possibly a result of the preparation of the core for blade production. The complete core, no. 3, is a small blade core made on a pebble of grey flint. The fragment is burnt and part of a keeled core. The core recovered by Sockett is also of pebble flint, but was flaked using the *écaillé* technique. The transverse arrowhead, no. 4, is of oblique form with abruptly retouched edges. The scraper, no. 5, is too fragmentary to classify further. Two flakes, including no. 6, have retouched edges.

It is unclear how much of the flint came from the same deposit as the Food Vessel and Collared Urn, but it is suggested that the burnt pieces may have come from a cremation. The wide 'dished' flakes from untrimmed cores and the fragment of keeled core are

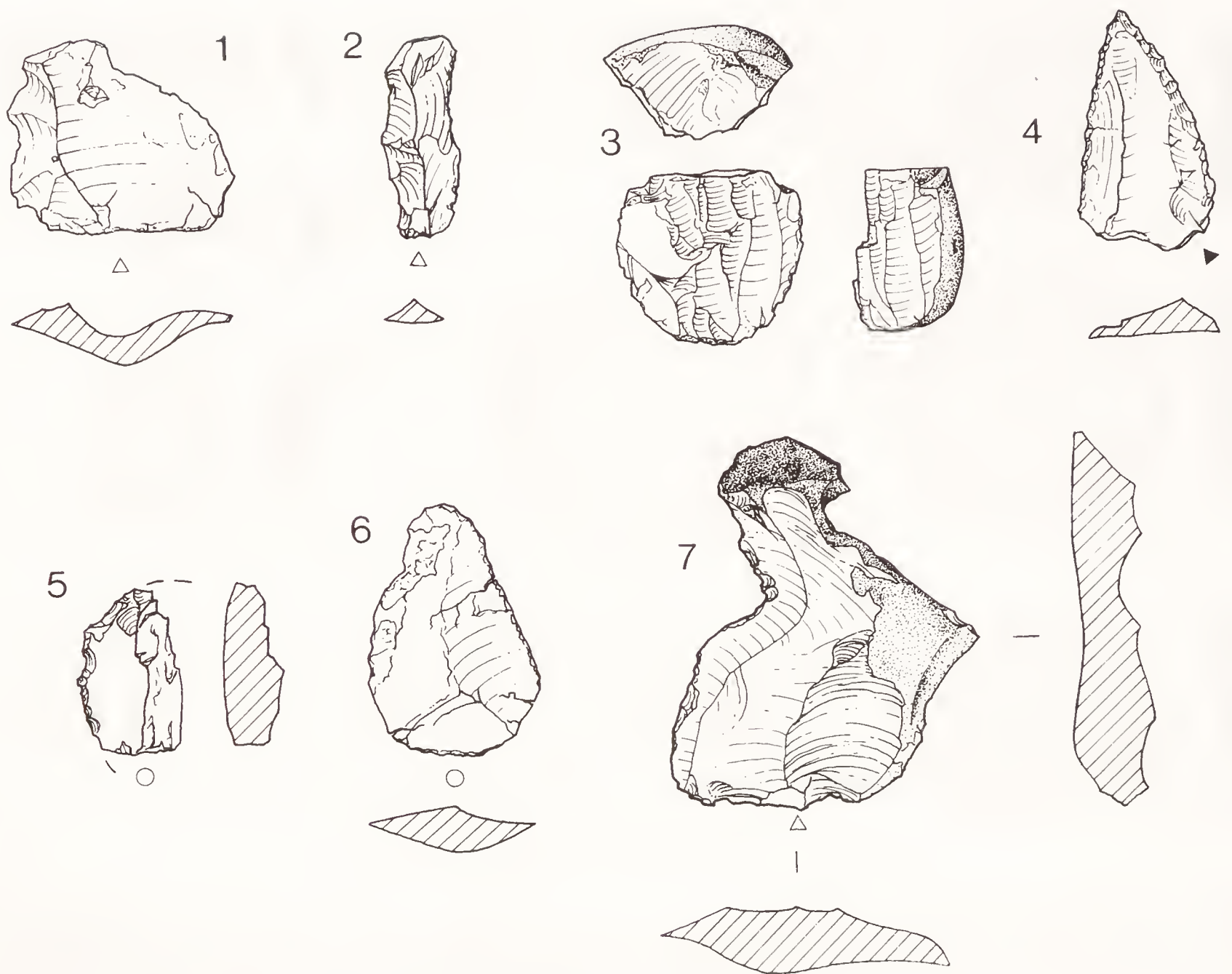


Fig. 6. Flint from Court Green Howe (scale 2:3).

typical of later neolithic/early Bronze Age flint working and oblique arrowheads need not be out of place with Collared Urns or Food Vessels (Green 1980, 115; 1984, 34). The small blade core and blade, both burnt, do not seem to derive from the same tradition and are more likely to be mesolithic.

MOUNT PLEASANT, ORMESBY

A substantial but ill-defined mound lying at the western end of the Eston Hills (NZ 5582 1658, SMR 334), this was partly excavated in 1950-52 (Sockett 1971). The surviving mound, *c.* 30 m in diameter, was found to enclose a mound of small stone, perhaps originally contained within a ditch of unknown diameter. The central area of this mound was occupied by a kerbed circle, 10 m in diameter, which contained the Beaker deposit. The finds are currently with Mr. E. W. Sockett.

Pottery (Fig. 7)

- 1 Beaker, only partly surviving but recorded as having been found complete but in very poor condition. Exterior surface mid-dark brown, interior surface dark grey. Clarke's Late Southern British group (Clarke 1970, 225-33).

The flint by Elizabeth Healey (Fig. 7)

The flint from this barrow survives as follows: a flake: two blade-like pieces, nos. 2 and 3: three scrapers, nos. 4 and 5: two knives, nos. 6 and 7: a transverse arrowhead, no. 8, and a naturally flaked fragment with chipped edges. Three pieces, two scrapers and a plano-convex knife, are highly calcined, the rest are of mid-grey to brown flint. The

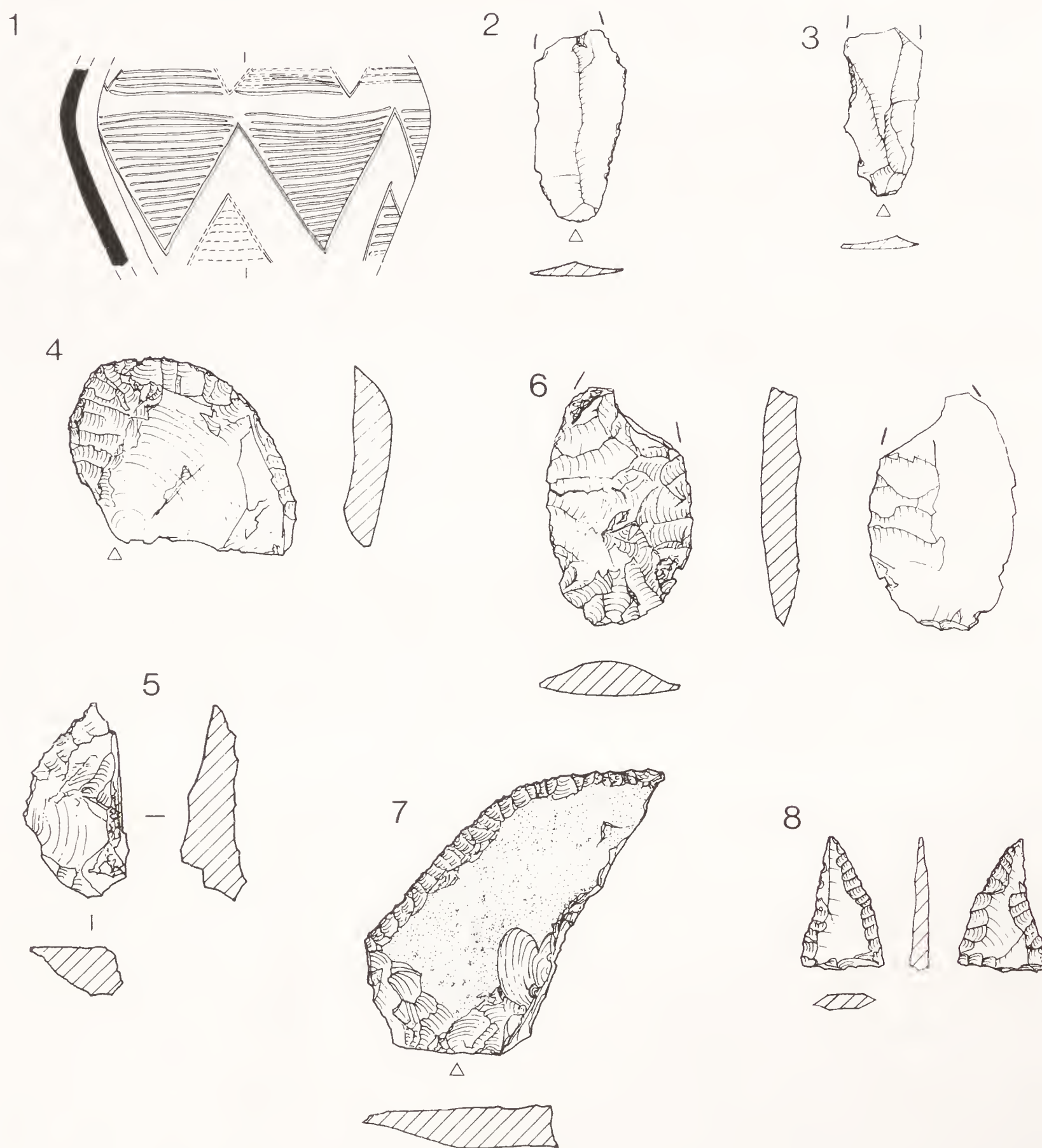


Fig. 7. Finds from Mount Pleasant: No. 1, Beaker (scale 1:4); Nos. 2-8, flint (scale 2:3).

arrowhead, no. 8, is of Green's class of oblique arrowhead (Green 1984, 25-6), it is of mid-grey flint. The scrapers are large with abrupt semi-invasive retouch on the ends and sides of the blank. The knife, no. 6, is of plano-convex form with flat all-over flaking, one edge is bifacially worked, it is highly calcined and almost certainly part of a cremation. The other knife, no. 7, is on a large cortical flake of mid-grey flint with semi-invasive scale flaking on its convex edge.

Although all the flint, apart from the blade-like fragment illustrated (Sockett 1971, 36, Fig. 3 no. 8) but now missing, was unstratified, this group of flints is comparable with other assemblages of Beaker date (*cf.* the upper levels at Windmill Hill, Smith 1965, 105, Fig. 50, and Hockwold cum Wilton, Bamford 1982, 27), although the scale flaked knife would be more at home in a Food Vessel context. The association of late Beakers and oblique arrowheads is also noted (Green 1984, 34).

Stone

Cup marked stone (not found).

WILTON MOOR BURIAL MOUND, KIRKLEATHAM

A small mound excavated in 1970 (Goddard, Brown and Spratt 1978), the site is located in the central area of the hills (NZ 5746 1840, SMR 532). The mound was 6 m in diameter and had a height of .60 m, it had been set upon the subsoil surface, parts of which appeared to have been levelled and paved in advance. The mound had been very simply constructed and comprised sandstone boulders set upon a lower layer of sand and small stone. A pit 1.5 by 2 m had been excavated to a depth of .30 m, and is presumed to have contained an inhumation. The finds are now in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough (M430/1987).

Stone (Fig. 10)

- 1 Saddle quern, local sandstone with a smooth concave grinding surface.
2. Cup marked stone (not found).

Flint by Elizabeth Healey

Eleven flakes, (including three fragments) and three scrapers, are present. The majority (eight) are of pale to mid-brown flint with light mottling and some are stained. One of the scrapers and three flakes are of dark grey flint, one flake of grey granular flint and one flake of pebble flint. They show variety of striking platforms and other characteristics, including an *outré passe* termination. The scrapers have only minimal retouch and are undiagnostic.

BURIAL MOUND WITHIN THE DEFENCES OF ESTON NAB HILLFORT

The various excavations at Eston Nab hillfort have recovered a number of cup-marked stones which may originate from one or more destroyed burial mounds (Vyner 1989, 84-6). The hillfort defences delimit the highest point along the northern scarp edge of the Eston Hills, a likely siting for a burial monument. At or near the spot where Elgee in 1927 recorded the discovery of sherds of Food Vessel and cremated bones (CNFC 1927, 34), can be seen what appears to be the remains of a low mound of earth and stone (NZ 5677 1833, SMR 1335). This may be the last vestiges of a burial mound which did not survive sufficiently for Elgee to recognise it as such. The cup-marked stones and other Bronze Age material from the site have been published with the report on the excavations on the hillfort; for the sake of completeness the details of the Bronze Age pottery are repeated here; nos. 1 and 3 are in the Dorman Museum Middlesbrough, no. 2 is in the collections of Langbaugh-on-Tees Museum Service.

Pottery (not illustrated, see Vyner 1988, Fig. 11)

- 1 Food Vessel, three rim sherds probably from the same vessel, together with a few body sherds. Dark grey fabric with numerous small to medium sized dolorite grits. The surface colours vary from dark brown to brown/orange. Horizontal whipped cord decoration below the rim, vertical 'maggot' cord impressions along the rim outer edge and across its top surface. Elgee 1927/10/6.
- 2 Food Vessel, single abraded rim sherd in a poorly made dark grey fabric with dark grey surfaces. Finger-tip impressions on the outer edge of the rim and on its outer surface. ENH 86 C.u/s.
- 3 Collared Urn, body sherd in dark grey fabric with numerous small and medium sized grits, interior surface dark grey, exterior mid-brown. Two horizontal rows of incised decoration and part of a series of near-vertical incised grooves suggest this belongs to

Longworth's Secondary Series north-western style (Longworth 1984, 34). A1976/142.

BURIAL MOUND ON ESTON MOOR, ORMESBY

One of a pair of burial mounds lying to the south of Eston Nab (NZ 5684 1802, SMR 69), this was excavated by John Walker Ord in or slightly before 1846. The cairn was constructed of boulders and covered a stone chamber which appears to have contained an inhumation (Ord 1846, 107).

BURIAL MOUND ON ESTON MOOR, ORMESBY

Excavated by Ord in or slightly before 1846, 108-9), when the second large barrow nearby was also excavated. Ord's description of the investigations suggests that the mound (NZ 5691 1802, SMR 70) was largely constructed of earth and small stones, it contained a cremation urn (Fig. 8), now in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough (A1976/100).

- 1 Collared Urn, Longworth's Secondary Series, north-western style. Form III (Longworth 1984, 163, Pl. 113a). There is little doubt that this is the vessel depicted somewhat differently by Ord (1846, 110, Fig. 2).
- 2 Marked stone, now lost, a copy apparently based on an engraving (Ord 1846, 110, Fig. 1), is in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough. This may not be an accurate portrayal of the original find; see the comment on the Collared Urn above.

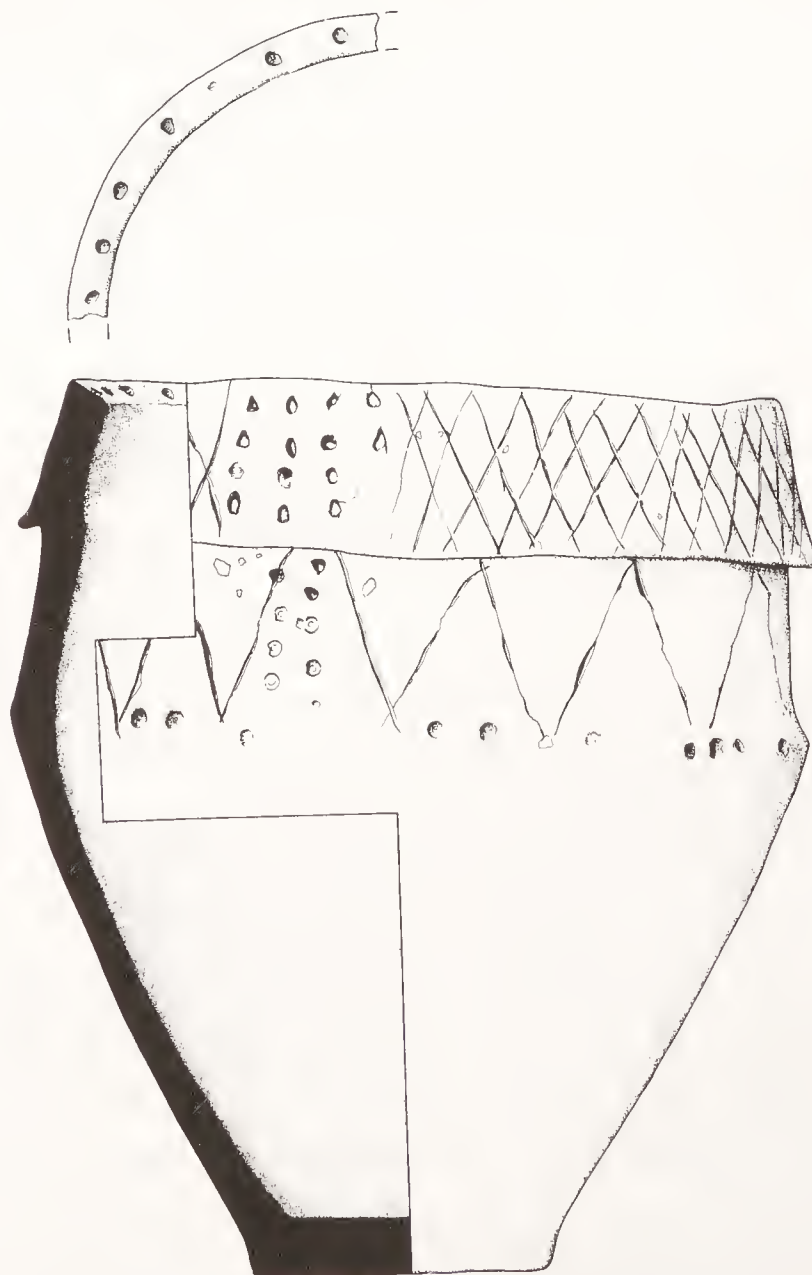


Fig. 8. Collared Urn from a barrow on Eston Moor (SMR 70) (scale 1:4).

BURIAL MOUND ABOVE LAZENBY BANK, WILTON

A substantial stone cairn situated at the scarp edge above Lazenby Bank (SMR 1317, NZ 5780 1843), this has a large excavation cavity in its centre. Five Food Vessels or Collared Urns, now lost, are recorded as having been excavated at some time prior to 1846 (Ord 1846, 108); two of these survived to be seen at Wilton Castle in 1849 (Thurnam 1871, 333), but the remainder appear to have been transferred, within the estate, to Lowther Castle in Westmorland (Thurnam 1871, 354). The barrow has been identified by deciphering Ord's list, discussed above.

BURIAL MOUND ON ESTON MOOR, ORMESBY

A substantial mound of stone and earth construction near the scarp edge (NZ 5664 1792, SMR 1337), recently rediscovered by Ms G. M. Cobb, may be the mound referred to by Gordon (1869, 61) as 'a few hundred yards west of the (Beacon) tower, on the brow of the hill and close by the line of a tram railway'. This was apparently opened by G. M. Tweddell of Stokesley (*Ibid*), but there are no details of any discoveries.

UNIDENTIFIED MOUND ON THE EAST END OF THE ESTON HILLS

1 Marked stone, now lost (Ord 1846, 110, Fig. 4).

UNIDENTIFIED BURIAL MOUND ON THE ESTON HILL

A Beaker, apparently similar to that from Mount Pleasant, now lost (*pers. comm.* E. Sockett), may have been excavated in the 1930s or 1940s. Insubstantial as this evidence is, it should not be dismissed, since the existence of a weekend 'digging club' based at the nascent Imperial Chemical Industries is known, if not recorded (*pers. comm.* L. Still)!

UNIDENTIFIED BURIAL MOUND ON ESTON MOOR

An urn with calcined bones is recorded as having been found by a Dr. Craster earlier this century (Elgee 1930, 154).

STRAY FINDS

Flint by Elizabeth Healey (Fig 9)

Lithics have been picked as casual finds over many years, and others have been found during field walking. The surviving finds are catalogued by finds group. With the exception of the three final groups listed these flints are in the possession of Mr. E. Sockett, the others are in the possession of Mr. M. Redmond and Mr. A. Hutchinson.

Eston, NZ 5617 no. 2 is a flake with chipped edges and a faceted butt, no. 14 is a knife with semi-invasive edge retouch and no. 13 is a scraper with semi-invasive retouch.

Guisborough, Upsall Pit, NZ 5717 Barnaby Moor, split pebble and core fragment.

Ormesby, Eston Nab, NZ 567183 flake of pebble flint.

Wilton, Court Green, NZ 580180 eight flakes, and a scraper no. 11 of pebble flint.

Wilton, Lackenby Wood area, NZ 5718 two flakes, one of grey flint, the other burnt.

Wilton, Wilton Moor, NZ 574178 flake of whitish flint.

Guisborough, Guisborough Park Farm, NZ 590170 five large lumps of chert and two chips, two corticated nodules of flint, one with struck scars, one large flake (possibly thermally fractured) with chipped edges.

Eston, Eston Moor, NZ 570182, flint scraper found by Mr. A. Hutchinson, no. 12, two blade-like pieces.

Eston, Eston Moor, NZ 5670 1830 (SMR 1287), twenty two pieces of flint found by Mr. M. Redmond and noted by Ms. D. Jelley, these remarks are based on her notes. Thirteen pieces are described as being unworked, but they may include flakes etc. The rest comprises a flake, three blades, nos. 3 and 4, two scrapers including no. 9, a

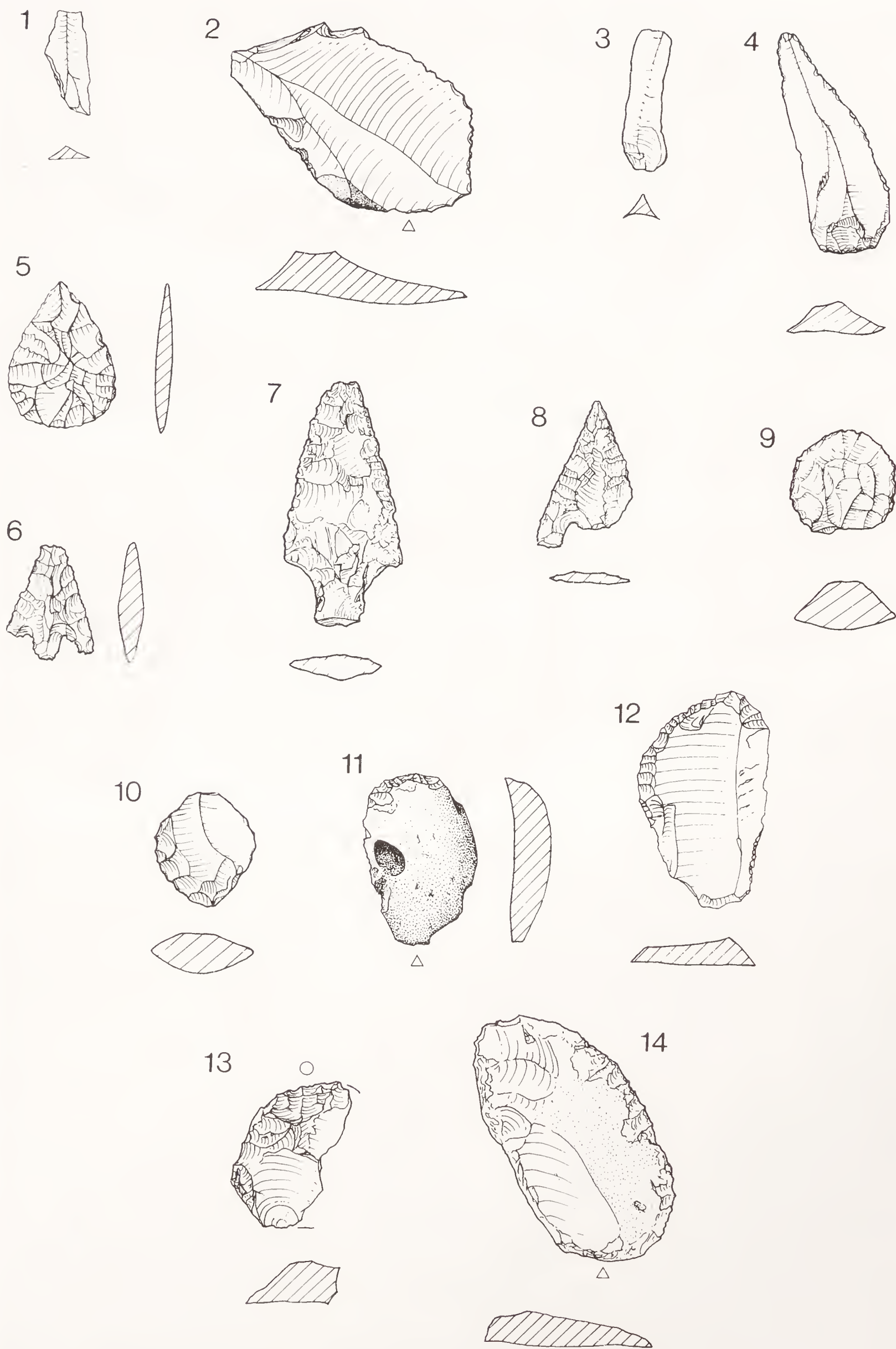


Fig. 9. Finds of flint from the Eston Hills (scale 2:3).

thumb nail scraper of Beaker type, a leaf-shaped arrowhead, no. 5, of Green's type 3a. There are three barbed and tanged arrowheads: no. 6 is of Green's Sutton type, no. 7 probably of Ballyclare type and no. 8 possibly a Conygar Hill type. There is also a possible, but unverified, microlith.

Eston, Eston Moor, NZ 56311710 (SMR 2188), thirty four pieces of flint were recovered by Mr. M. Redmond and noted by Ms D. Jelley. Twenty seven are described as waste flakes, including core-rejuvenation flakes. There is also a core, two flakes, three backed blades and what is described as 'an obliquely blunted microlith', no. 1, although from the illustration this appears to be of narrow blade form. This group of flints seems to indicate the presence of a mesolithic site in the vicinity.

Objects of stone (Fig. 10)

Of the cup-marked stones noted below all are boulders of local sandstone, nos. 1 and 2 are in the collections of Langbaugh-on-Tees Museum Service, Kirkleatham Old Hall Museum, Redcar, nos. 3-6 are with the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough.

- 1 Cup-marked stone, roughly shaped from recent walling. One well defined cup-mark, perhaps one other, shallower, mark. Not illustrated. ENH 86 D u/s.
- 2 Cup-marked stone, a sandstone block with two indistinct shallow concentric grooves. ENH 85.
- 3 Cup-marked stone with six, perhaps eight, shallow pecked cup-marks on one side, three on the opposing side. From Eston Moor. 1967/252/1.
- 4 Cup-marked stone having a single cup-mark with concentric ring. From Eston Moor. 1967/252/2.
- 5 Cup-marked stone with four cup-marks on one side. From Eston Moor. 1967/252/3.
- 6 Stone with a group of small indentations on one side, several of which appear to be cup-marks. From Eston Moor. 1967/252/4.

Other finds of Bronze Age date from Eston Nab are reported upon elsewhere (Vyner 1989, 79-87).

DISCUSSION

The Eston Hills represent a microcosm of the North Yorkshire Moors in terms of landscape and archaeology, but it is also the case that the history of archaeological investigation and knowledge of this small area is representative of the larger region. The incomplete and inadequate record of excavation detailed above is unhelpful in illuminating the details of chronology, form and function of these Bronze Age monuments and it is fair to say that the position has hardly advanced in the past decade, at the beginning of which it was not possible to cite any excavation of a Cleveland burial mound more recent than the 1920's (Crawford 1980). Recent and adequate excavated information from monuments elsewhere on the North York Moors and the neighbourhood is equally sparse; Brewster listed six of his own excavations (Brewster 1973, 73), barrows which had been excavated during the 1960s (Manby 1988, 2-3), to which may be added only a handful more, including two at Barnby Howes (Ashbee and ApSimon 1958) and the less fruitful investigation of a group of damaged mounds on Ampleforth Moor (Wainwright and Longworth 1971). It is salutary to note that although the investigation of two presumed Bronze Age monuments at Loftus, East Cleveland (Vyner 1984, 1988) has provided more information on the nature of Bronze Age burial ritual, it has also indicated the individual complexity of these monuments as well as suggesting that there may once have existed a broader range of sites connected with mortuary ritual. Not all of these sites are likely to have been substantial, nor were all necessarily directly connected with the deposition of mortuary remains (Vyner, forthcoming).

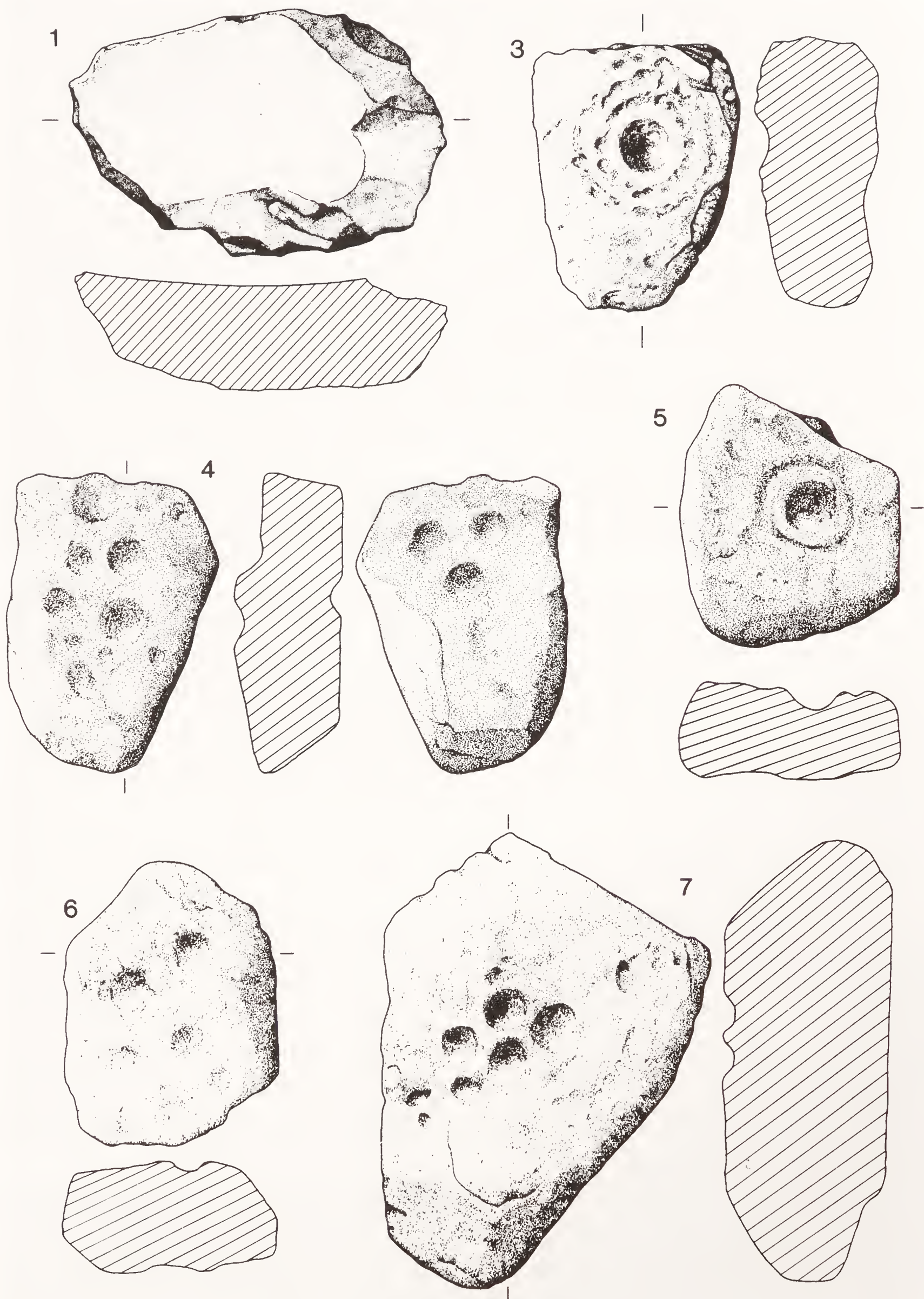


Fig. 10. No. 1, saddle quern from Wilton Moor barrow (SMR 532); others, cup-marked stones as catalogued (scale 1:6).

Before discussing the nature and chronology of the monuments on the Eston Hills some discussion should be made of the evidence for the environment in which they were established. Samples taken from beneath the outer part of the Mount Pleasant burial mound provide useful information, albeit not closely dated. The central portion of the Mount Pleasant mound, *c.* 10 m in diameter, covered a Beaker burial (Socket 1971, 33), but the environmental sample was obtained from beneath what seems to be a later extension to this mound, so that the evidence it contains may be considered to relate to a period somewhat later, likely to have been between 2000 and 1200 BC. The samples showed that forest cover of alder, hazel and oak had been cleared, presumably to allow for cereal cultivation which was evidenced by cereal pollen as well as pollen from weeds of cultivation (Dimbleby 1971). By the time this part of the mound came to be constructed, however, cultivation had been abandoned and the area had been taken over by bracken, with evidence of encroaching woodland. How far this evidence might apply to the Eston Hills as a whole is uncertain, although it would be surprising if this small and self contained area contained any substantial contrasts of land-use. Samples from the back-filled palisade trenches at Eston Nab, suggested to belong to the later Bronze Age (Vyner 1988, 89-90), contained hazelnut fragments which also indicate the presence of woodland. Cereal remnants in the form of carbonised seeds and chaff could evidence grain brought to the site, an interpretation supported by the evidence sealed beneath the mid-first millenium earthwork ramparts of the hillfort. These provide unequivocal evidence for a scrubland environment with no trace of arable agriculture (van der Veen 1988),

The lithic finds from the barrows and the stray finds, though not great in quantity, testify to activity from mesolithic to Bronze Age times – a common feature of flint assemblages from the North York Moors. The activity would seem to be more widespread than the field monuments alone suggest. A study of the technology clearly shows the production of both blades and flakes. It is likely that this is the result of two traditions of flint working, presumably of mesolithic and neolithic date, as suggested by other artefacts, although there is some overlap between the traditions. Of the retouched forms seen among the stray finds the microliths and the arrowheads are the most diagnostic; the arrowheads have mixed association (Green 1984, Table 1), but they demonstrate activity in mesolithic and later times. This is further corroborated by the material from Eston Nab hillfort (Healey 1988) and in material recovered from elsewhere (Elgee 1930, 151; Spratt 1982, 114).

It is concluded that the Eston Hills had been cleared for agricultural purposes during the early Bronze Age, if not before, and that from this time on they constituted an area of scrubland. Heather, which is widespread today over the unenclosed areas of the Eston Hills, did not appear in either of the examined samples. At present there is no physical evidence for agricultural use of the area during the Bronze Age; ploughmarks have not been noted beneath the excavated burial mounds; the saddle quern from the small mound on Wilton Moor (SMR 532), Goddard *et al.* 1978) must be of Bronze Age date, although the querns incorporated in the Iron Age defences at Eston Nab could be somewhat later (Vyner 1989, 83). All could evidence the processing of imported grain rather than a locally grown product.

As is the case elsewhere in east Cleveland and on the North York Moors, Bronze Age domestic activity on the Eston Hills is poorly evidenced; its presence is suggested by the presence of potsherds in the later levels of the palisaded ritual monument at Street House, east Cleveland (Vyner 1988, 179), and, on the Eston Hills, in the charcoal and single Collared Urn sherd at the barrow on Wilton Moor (SMR 1318). The nature of the flint found in the material making up the body of burial mounds is uncertain (Saville 1980, 21ff; Healey 1982, 810-11); in the case of the Wilton Moor barrow, which had been

examined in antiquity, some could have derived from a disturbed burial. The deposit of charcoal beneath the mound, and the material buried with the undisturbed cremation suggests activity prior to the mound construction and the flint may be further evidence for this. There is, however, no strong case against the likely existence of early Bronze Age occupation sites on the upper slopes of the Eston Hills; occupation of the palisaded enclosures at Eston Nab has been suggested to be of later Bronze Age date (Vyner 1989, 89), and the existence of two cropmark enclosures of pre-Roman Iron Age type on the southern part of the Eston Hills testifies to the continuing potential for settlement at a considerably later date.

On the current evidence it is not possible to establish any chronological or social hierarchy for the Bronze Age monuments on the Eston Hills; the Beaker burial places the central part of the Mount Pleasant burial mound at the beginning of the sequence of mortuary activity. Collared Urns form the overwhelming majority of the excavated pottery assemblages, with Food Vessels poorly represented, nevertheless, their presence, together with the widespread distribution of cup-marked stones on the Eston Hills, emphasises a similarity with assemblages from monuments which are marginal to the main area of the North York Moors.

The finds assemblages are perhaps more typical of those recovered from the coastal margins rather than inland (Crawford 1989, 21), although it should be emphasised that more sustained attention has been paid to the coastal groups of monuments than to those inland (Hornsby and Stanton 1917; Hornsby and Laverick 1920; Ashbee and ApSimon 1958). A further similarity lies in the general cohesion of the distribution of the monuments on the Eston Hills, in this respect also they have greater similarities with the groups of monuments at Boulby (Vyner 1984, 1988) and Barnby (Ashbee and ApSimon 1958) than with the groups of burial mounds on the higher moorlands to the south (Spratt 1982, 144). The Beaker from Mount Pleasant is otherwise only paralleled locally in the handled Beaker from Highcliff Nab, Guisborough (Elgee 1930, 70). Although precise chronological information is lacking, the density of monuments suggests that mortuary activity continued for some time; the duration of currency of the Collared Urn has yet to be established, it may have continued until around 1100 b.c. (Longworth 1984, 79).

In its final form the burial mound at Mount Pleasant, at the western end of the hills, is one of the largest in the group; the burial mounds of the Eston Hills vary considerably in size, because of agriculture and forestry damage the best guide to the original size of the mounds is their diameter (Appendix B). Most monuments have diameters between 5 and 12 metres, but a group of nine mounds have diameters of 15 m or more, and these are distributed fairly evenly across the hills (Fig. 1). The extent to which these may have been prominent in the landscape, or even intervisible, is today hard to assess because of the presence of the shelter plantations, but if it is accepted that the hills were substantially cleared of trees by the early Bronze Age then it would seem that these would have been markedly more prominent than most of the other monuments. The smaller monuments are distributed rather less extensively, with larger mounds tending to occupy the eastern and western edges of the distribution, which is restricted to the area of the northern part of the hills, for the most part above the 200 m contour. The burial mounds and related monuments appear to be noticeably absent from the southern part of the Eston Hills, although there is evidence of activity at or around this period in the form of a group of recently discovered monuments (Fig. 1). These comprise a small and well-defined ring ditch, perhaps 8 m in diameter, and two substantial ditched enclosures, one better evidenced than the other, apparently comprising circular ditches some 3 m wide and around 60 m in external diameter. Whether or not these monuments belong to the same chronological horizon, and whether or not they were ritual or

domestic in nature, has yet to be established.

The details of construction of the Bronze Age monuments on the Eston Hills, such as they are known, show that all appear to have been constructed of earth and stone or entirely of stone. Surrounding ditches, which provided at least some of the material for the mounds, are evidenced in the three cropmark sites as well as the excavated monuments on Wilton Moor, where a single break in the ditch was evident, as well as at the Mount Pleasant burial mound. Elsewhere in Cleveland such encircling ditches are poorly evidenced and it would seem that a kerb of boulders is a more common feature. There is at present no evidence to suggest that the presence or absence of a ditch is of any chronological, functional or cultural significance; in reviewing the excavated evidence for a number of excavated North Yorkshire burial mounds of neolithic and Bronze Age date Brewster was not able to reach any firm conclusions (1973, 72-4). The existence of encircling ditches at some sites did not preclude the construction of stone kerbs, which are present at a number of the mounds and may exist even where they cannot now be seen.

The present survey has identified two groups of monuments; the first comprises mounds of earth and stone discussed above, the largest of these, when excavated, have proved to be burial mounds. Three are evidenced as cropmark ring ditches. Within this group is a number of less substantial mounds, including the group of sites evidenced largely by stone scatters (SMR 1319-23 inclusive), which may yet prove, by analogy with the palisaded enclosure site at Street House, east Cleveland, to be rather different in purpose (Vyner 1988).

A second group of sites comprises a number of low stone cairns of varying diameter. In one case (SMR 1329) the site takes the form of an elongated mound. These lie on the south-facing slopes above the Moordale Beck, to the south of the main distribution of putative Bronze Age burial monuments on the Eston Hills, and, since none is known to have been excavated, may represent stone clearance of prehistoric or much more recent date. The shallow stone cairn excavated on Wilton Moor (SMR 547), of relatively recent construction, resembles several other stone and boulder scatters in its immediate vicinity, but the Moordale Beck cairns have a much more positive identity. Caution is prompted by the observation that the area in which they lie had been taken in for enclosure by the late 19th century, although the Ordnance Survey maps show that this was one of the few areas of the central part of the hills that was not at that time down to forestry plantation.

The distribution of Bronze Age burial mounds and probable related monuments on the Eston Hills has not been materially altered by the discoveries of the present survey, indeed, this has confirmed and emphasised the distribution of these monuments on the higher land on the central and eastern part of the north side of the hills. However, since it has been demonstrated that from the early Bronze Age until the 19th century arable agriculture may have been largely absent from the Eston Hills, our knowledge of these Bronze Age monuments is more complete than might have been anticipated. New additions to the gazetteer beyond this distribution tend to be the small stone cairns which may yet prove to be chronologically and functionally distinct.

APPENDIX A. Ord’s list of *Tumuli* on the Eston Hills (Ord 1846, 121-2, note 2), with provisional identifications, actual distances between monuments, their current size and Sites and Monuments (SMR) number.

<i>Tumulus</i>	distant (yds)	dia. (yds)	SMR	actual distant (yds)	current dia. (yds)
I	Furthest W from Nab	10	69		10
II	36	10	70	76	11
III	740	40	528	703	18.5
IV	14	40	529	30	17.5
V	300	irregular	432	276	17.5
VI	250		1317	226	13
VII	400	22	533	342	22
VIII	240	66	1332	290	21

APPENDIX B. Burial mounds and probable burial mounds on the Eston Hills.

SMR No.	NGR	Dia. (m)	Hgt. (m)	Comments
67	NZ 5616 1728	16	1	
68	NZ 5646 1741	11	1	
69	NZ 5684 1802	9	.80	Excavated by Ord
70	NZ 5691 1802	10	1	Excavated by Ord
79	NZ 5667 1792	5	.10	
80	NZ 5677 1799	2	.15	
172	NZ 5791 1796	13	1	
187	NZ 5791 1796	7.5	.20	
334	NZ 5582 1658	13	2	Excavated E. W. Sockett
432	NZ 5759 1843	16	1	
526	NZ 5879 1838	17	1	Excavated Hornsby
527	NZ 5898 1859	12	.60	
528	NZ 5753 1818	17	1	
529	NZ 5756 1818	16	1.2	
530	NZ 5718 1824	23	1	
531	NZ 5737 1837	4.5	.40	
532	NZ 5746 1840	5	.10	Excavated Goddard <i>et al</i>
533	NZ 5792 1807	20	1	
1317	NZ 5780 1843	12	1	
1318	NZ 5773 1829	8	.20	Excavated Cleveland Archaeology
1319	NZ 5789 1824	10	.20	
1320	NZ 5782 1822	10		
1321	NZ 5784 1823	8		
1322	NZ 5776 1819	10	.30	
1323	NZ 5778 1818	9	.20	
1324	NZ 5757 1819	8	.30	
1325	NZ 5745 1837	5	.20	
1332	NZ 5797 1833	20		
1333	NZ 5840 1849	7	.20	
1334	NZ 5840 1849	12	.50	
1335	NZ 5677 1833			Encountered by Elgee
1337	NZ 5664 1792	15	1	? Investigated by Tweddell
1361	NZ 5701 1748	4.5	.50	
1363	NZ 5673 1719	8	.70	
1370	NZ 5747 1842	11.5	.25	
1391	NZ 5852 1842			A. P. Cropmark
1392	NZ 5866 1845			A. P. Cropmark
1393	NZ 5849 1824			A. P. Cropmark
1407	NZ 5828 1838			A. P. Shadow site, 1990

APPENDIX C. Cairns on the Eston Hills

SMR No.	NGR	Dia. (m)	Hgt. (m)	Comments
547	NZ 5775 1838	3.5	.20	Excavated Cleveland Archaeology
1328	NZ 5739 1768	5	.30	
1329	NZ 5736 1762	7 (E-W)	.30	Elongated cairn

APPENDIX C. Cairns on the Eston Hills

SMR No.	NGR	Dia. (m)	Hgt. (m)	Comments
1330	NZ 5738 1762	6	.20	
1331	NZ 5748 1847	5		
1338	NZ 5706 1780	2		
1339	NZ 5707 1778	2	.15	
1340	NZ 5706 1786			
1341	NZ 5707 1787	1.5	.20	
1342	NZ 5702 1801	3		
1343	NZ 5730 1759	4	.20	
1344	NZ 5729 1760	6		
1362	NZ 5700 1754	3.5	.25	

Acknowledgements

The first recorded investigations of the Bronze Age monuments of the Eston Hills are those of John Walker Ord; despite his romantic enthusiasms there remains much of interest and value in his account of these Eston antiquities and this, together with Frank Elgee's *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire*, has provided a starting point for these researches and an encouragement to continue them. I have also been greatly assisted by those other investigators of the Eston Hills, Ernie Sockett and Don Spratt. For continued access to the eastern end of the hills and for permission to excavate the Wilton Moor barrow and cairn I should like to thank David Ward, farm manager for ICI. David Ryder and David Brunton allowed access to the southern slopes of the hills while the survey of the western area took place with permission of Langbaugh-on-Tees Borough Council. I am grateful to Hilary Wade of the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough, for making available finds from the previous excavations on the Bronze Age monuments, and to Ernie Sockett for making available for study the finds currently in his possession. The excavations of 1986 were undertaken with the assistance of members of Cleveland County Archaeology Section's Manpower services Commission Community Programme Scheme under the supervision of Steve Sherlock. I am grateful to Elizabeth Healey and Sally Parker for their specialist reports; Elizabeth Healey also reported upon the flint finds from elsewhere on the Eston Hills and has contributed to the general discussion of artefacts from the hills. Fieldwork in 1988-9 was done by a field team supervised by Nick Friend, comprising Tracy Harper, Mick Luke, Fiona McLellan and Jane Rudge, their astute observations are incorporated in the present report and in the field records now maintained in Cleveland County Archaeology Section archives.

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A ROMAN MARCHING CAMP AND NATIVE SETTLEMENT SITE AT NEWTON KYME, TADCASTER

By J. M. Monaghan

The planning and construction of a gas pipeline through North Yorkshire in 1979 involved close consultation between representatives of the British Gas Corporation and North Yorkshire County Council over the selection of a route through a complex of archaeological sites located within a bend in the river Wharfe, to the west of the village of Newton Kyme. They are contained within a single field and include the scheduled sites of first/second and third century AD military forts and an associated vicus, a probable late Neolithic/early Bronze age henge monument, and a variety of rectilinear and ring ditch features (figure 1).

There is only a piecemeal knowledge of the chronology of these sites. Limited investigations in the vicinity of the later fort earlier this century whilst it was still an earthwork, recovered evidence of the structural development of the fortifications (Simpson 1981). Prehistoric finds have been periodically brought up by the plough elsewhere in the field, and an inhumation accompanied by a "food vessel" was excavated in 1957 (*Wetherby Post*). During 1956 Mr. H. G. Ramm carried out an excavation of the fort, as yet unpublished (*J.R.S.* 47 (1957), p. 209).

After careful study of the available aerial photography a route was selected which appeared to avoid the important archaeological features in the area and also overcome the considerable financial and engineering constraints imposed by the surrounding topography. The realignment ran down the western edge of the field, almost parallel to, and 80-100 metres away from the Roman road, Rudgate, and the river crossing at St. Helen's Ford. An investigation by the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, during land clearance in this part of the field in the mid-1960s, had yielded evidence of Romano-British occupation (Radley 1967, 1968). This appeared to reflect a ribbon-like strand of settlement along the line of Rudgate.

In order to make a further assessment of the archaeological implications of this route a geophysical survey was carried out by the Department of Archaeological Sciences at the University of Bradford. This revealed a number of anomalies that included a substantial linear feature which in a subsequent examination of aerial photographs taken by Dr. Derrick Riley, appeared to be part of a previously unrecorded marching camp. A double ring ditch feature, approximately 25 metres in diameter was also recorded within the same geophysical survey area.

EXCAVATION

An area of 200 square metres around the putative marching camp ditch and the adjacent ring ditch feature was selected for investigation. The extent of plough damage and erosion on the site was such that only the deepest archaeological features had survived. Others had either been truncated with any meaningful stratigraphic relationships removed, or were almost totally destroyed. Ploughmarks up to 0.15m deep were found in the sandy subsoil, and evidence of the surface deflation of soil downfield towards the river Wharfe was found in a considerable overburden of redeposited topsoil on the riverbank. As a result the interpretation of many archaeological features was at

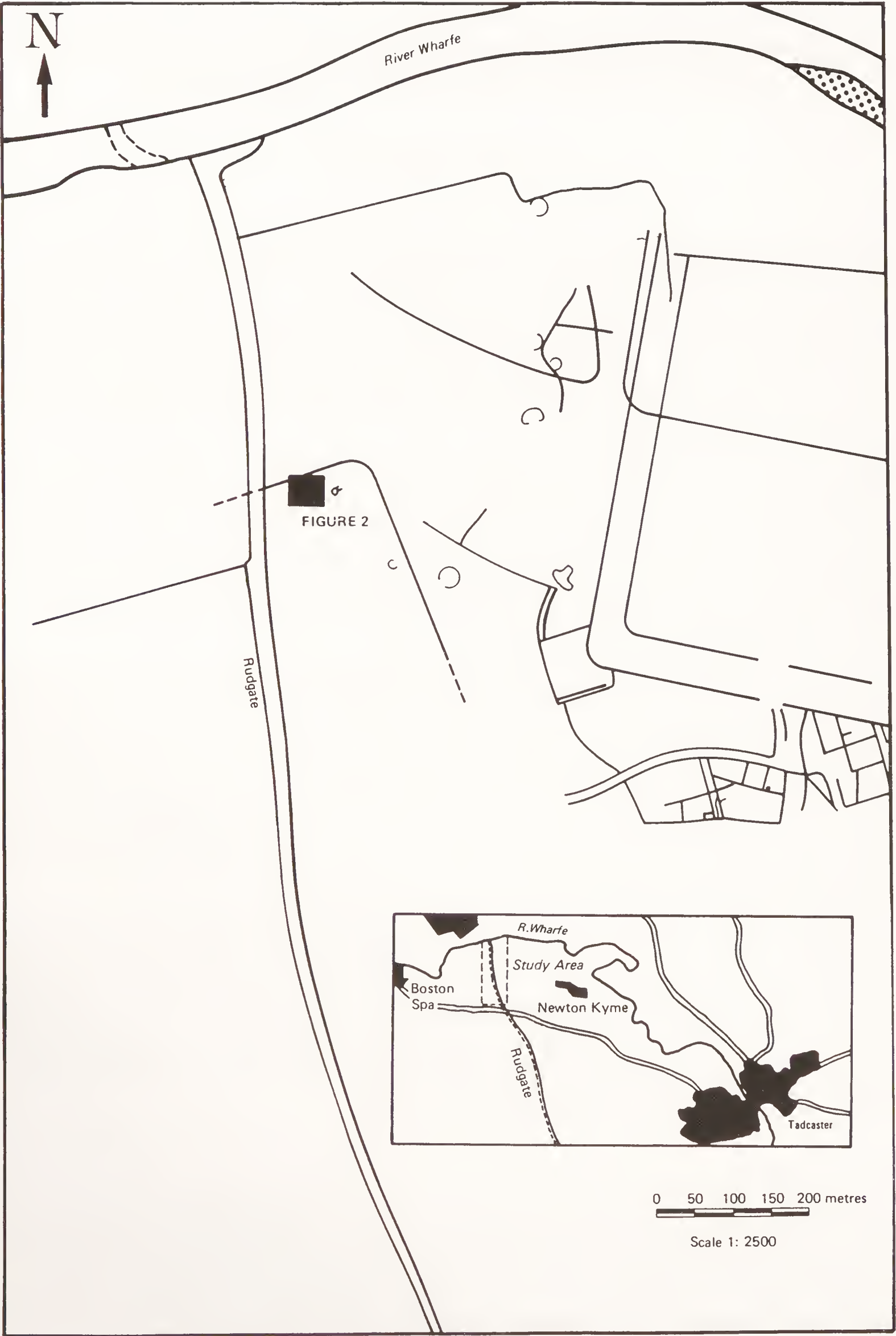


Figure 1: Location of Excavation Area within Newton Kyme Cropmark Complex.

best difficult. Those most readily identifiable related to –

- 1 The boundary ditch of a Roman marching camp (4).
- 2 A palisaded ditch (6) and complementary group of post settings (8 and 9) that appeared to form part of the circumference of a ring ditch.

Marching Camp

An oblique aerial photograph showed a cropmark with the “playing card” shape usually characteristic of first century AD marching camp sites in Northern England. It was incomplete in that there was no sign of a ditch at the southern end and the presumed eastern side of the camp, beyond Rudgate could not be seen as it presumably lay under pasture. The visible area enclosed no more than 1.6 hectares in all.

The linear feature recorded on the geophysical survey, which appeared to correspond with the northern edge of the camp, was revealed after the removal of topsoil and investigated in two trenches, 13 metres apart. The difference in size and profile of the ditch in each section was explained by a narrow, clavicular-type entrance at this end of the camp. Both of the above sections were taken from either arm of this entrance work respectively. Section 4.1 was from the more substantial outer ditch line of the entrance, and section 4.2 from the inner ditch line.

It had been hoped that the geophysical survey might have located the southern boundary ditch of the camp. However the excavation of the pipe trench showed the limestone bedrock to rise rapidly beyond the line of the removed field boundary, to within only a few centimetres of the ground surface. The construction of a turf rampart may have been an easier alternative to the excavation of an, albeit temporary, ditch through bedrock.

The main fill of the ditch at the northern end of the camp was a finely textured homogenous silt. A thin band of dark brown humic soil immediately above the level of primary silting and along the ditch sides, implied that it had been open for some indeterminate length of time and may not have been immediately backfilled when the site was abandoned. The confused nature of the upper fill in sections 3.1 and 3.2 suggests that any attendant earthworks may have been demolished at a later date.

Palisaded Ring Ditch

The earth-cut remnants of a palisaded structure lay immediately adjacent to, and to the south of the camp ditch. It had a slightly sinuous form in plan and contained a fill of dark brown sandy silt clay with a shallow primary fill of darker brown silt and was between 0.45 and 0.6m wide, and 0.45m deep. A series of post-settings were evident in either side of the ditch. They were set more deeply, up to 0.45m, on the inner edge and tapered to postholes between 0.12 and 0.20m in diameter at the bottom of their profile. A number of disparately distributed, smaller postholes were found both on the outer edge and in the bottom of the excavated ditch. They contained fragments of charcoal and compact dark brown clay giving way to dark brown, humose stained sand at their base. In all this configuration of post-settings suggested a palisade fence structure, and, or timber-framed wall line.

A group of postholes was recorded on the southern, outer, side of the palisade ditch. Some of these lay in a hollow area – feature 2, approximately 3.50m in diameter and 0.30m deep (maximum) that contained a sandy brown silt with a circular patch of dark brown gravelly soil, 0.60m in diameter, at the base. The excavation area was so badly dessicated that no definite connection could be made between this, and the soil sealing features 4 and 6, the marching camp and palisade ditch respectively.

However the symmetry apparent in the arrangement of these postholes suggested at least two simple portal, or hurdle-like structures; one of which was aligned parallel to a

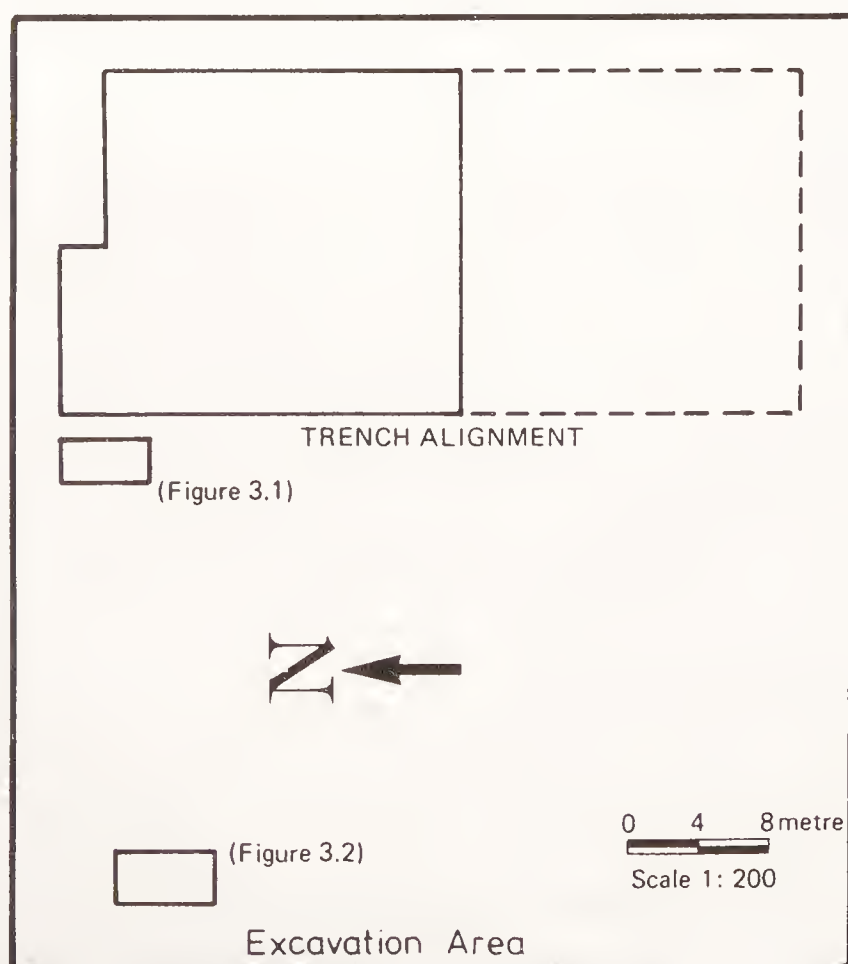
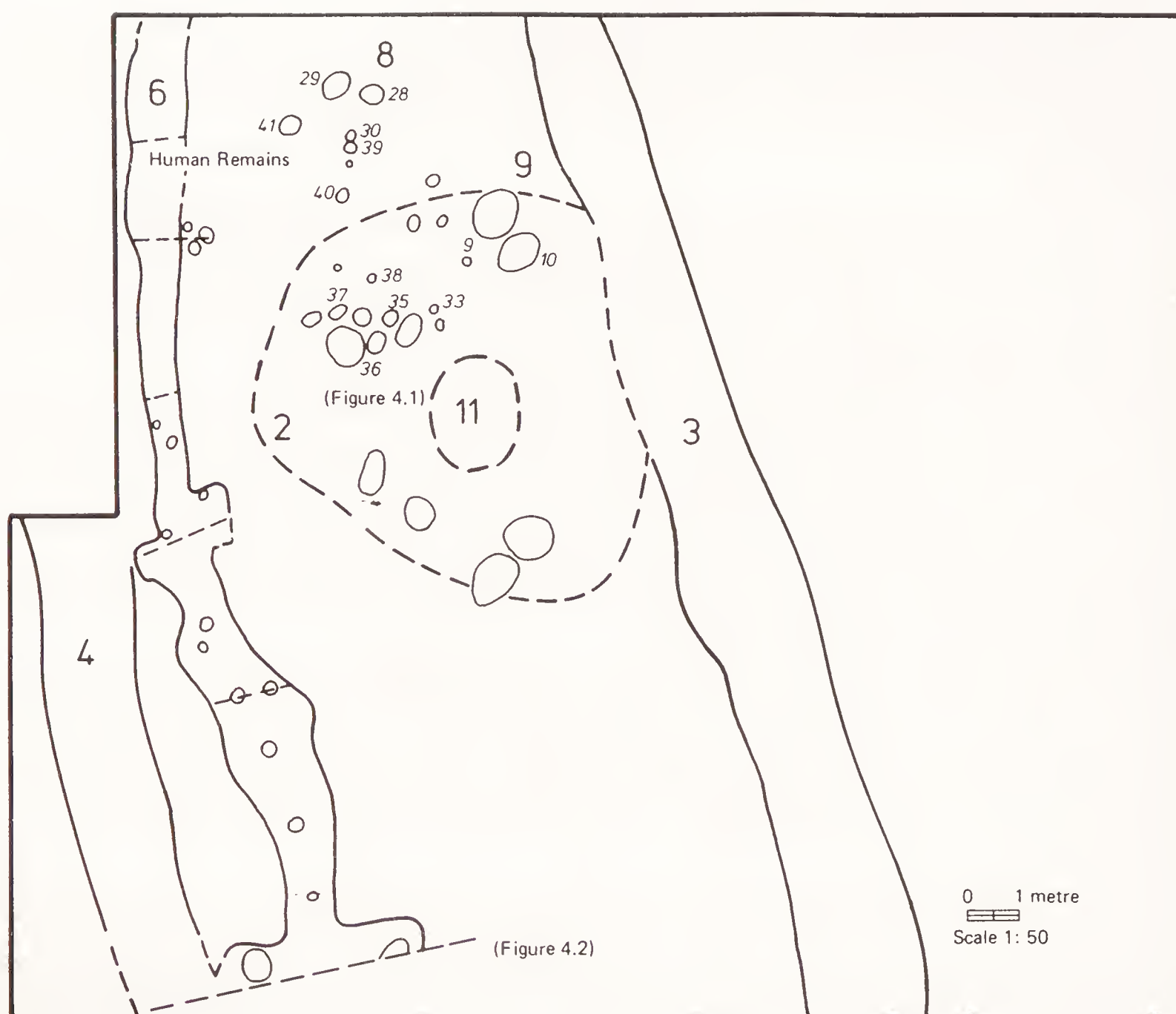
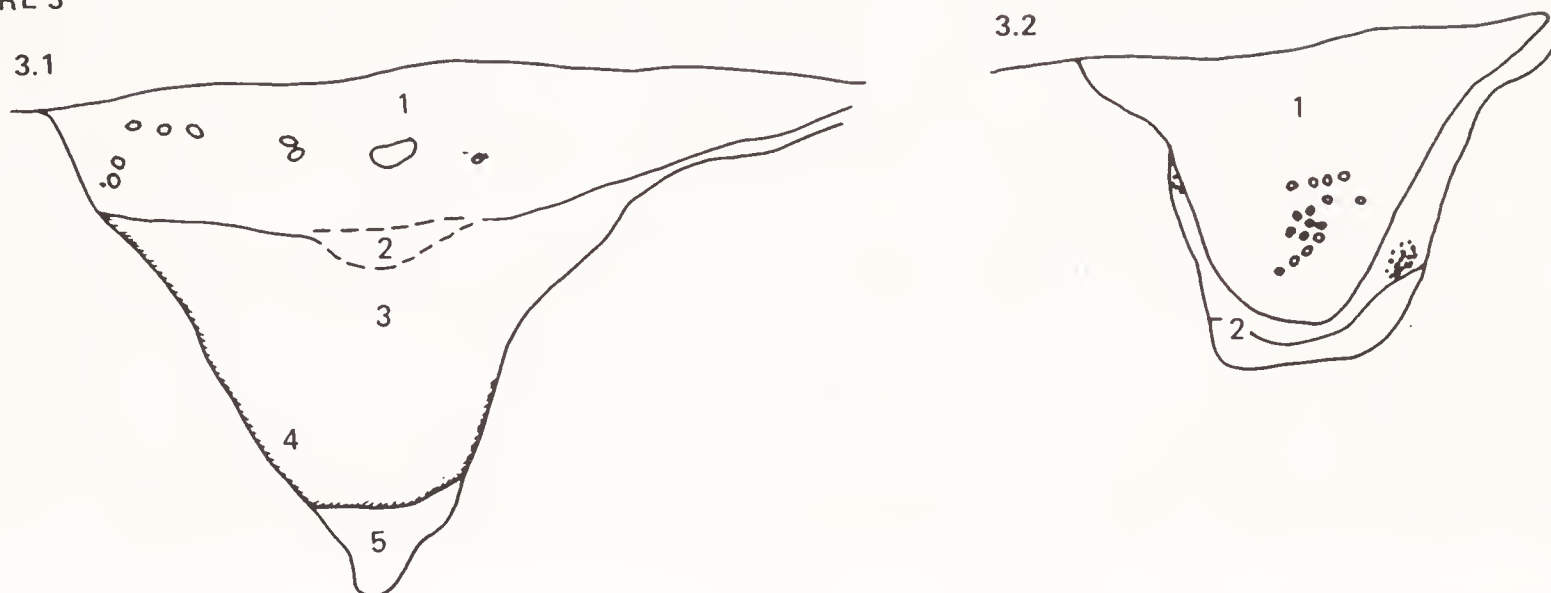


Figure 2: Plan of Excavated Features

FIGURE 3

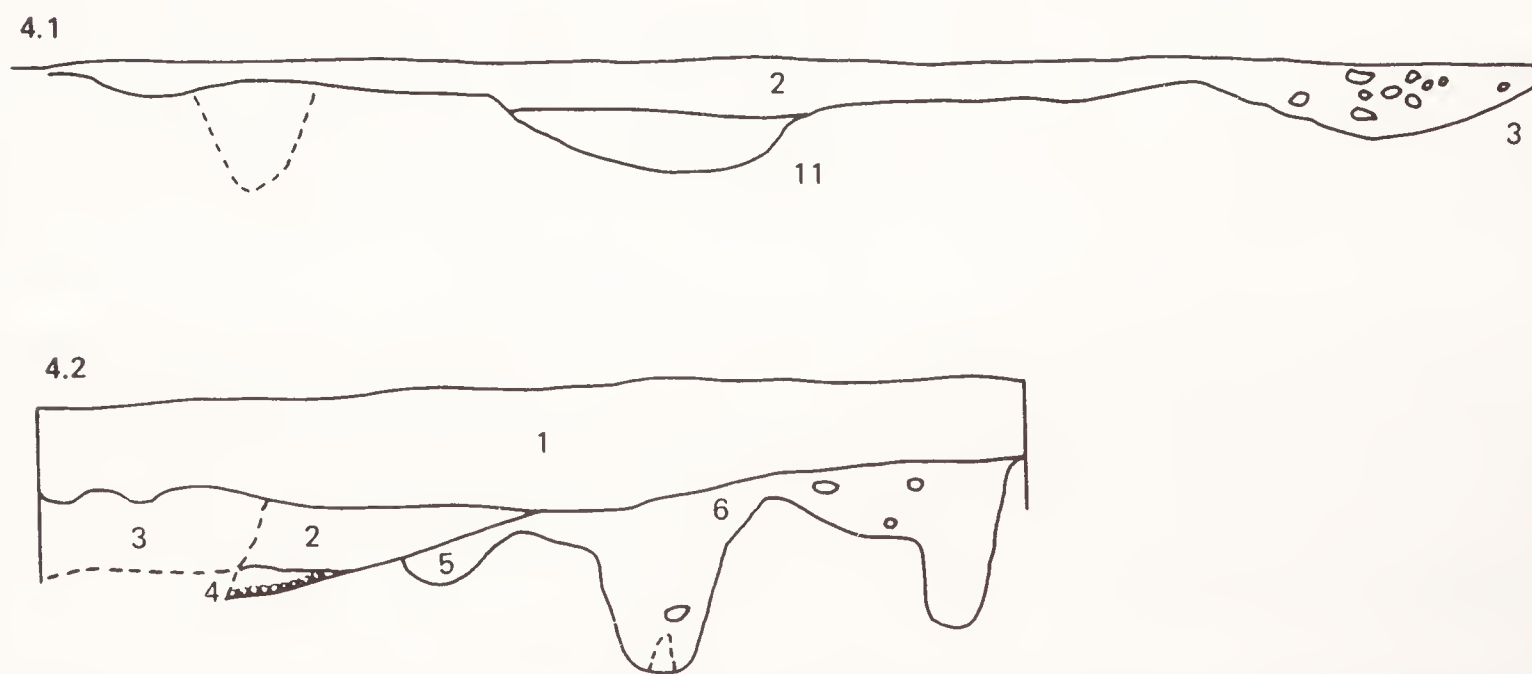
*Figure 3.1*

- 1 – Mid-brown silt fill. Contains stones of varying size.
- 2 – Sand with coarse grits and small stone.
- 3 – Dark brown homogenous sandy silt with very few stones.
- 4 – Thin band of dark brown humic loam.
- 5 – Mixture of light yellow sand and brown sandy soil.

Figures 3.2

- 1 – Dark brown silt with some large stones.
- 2 – Mixture of light yellow sand and brown gravelly subsoil.

FIGURE 4

*Figure 4.1*

- 2 – midbrown gritty sand with charcoal and a few stones.
- 3 – Similar to 2 but contains more stone and hardly any charcoal.
- 11 – A mixture of midbrown gritty sand and gravel, no charcoal.

Figure 4.2

- 1 – a confused mixture of soil and gravel with an overall silty texture.
- 2 – a mixture of soil and gravel and a lot of stone. Disturbed subsoil.
- 3 – Fine textured stone – free silty sand (Feature 4).
- 4 – Dark brown humic sandy loam.
- 5 – Oblique section of palisade posthole on Northern edge of Feature 6. Dark brown silty loam.
- 6 – Mid-brown fine textured stone-free silt with small quantity of gravel.

break in the course of the palisade ditch where some rudely interred human remains were found in excavation (figure 2). Postholes 28 and 29, and 66 and 31 appeared to form terminal postholes for the latter alignment (8). Feature 28 contained a post-pipe which was 0.09m in diameter with tapered profiles inclined eastwards. All of the features excavated within this alignment contained the same sandy upper fill with a lower fill of grey brown mottled sandy clay.

The other, presumably earlier, alignment (9) lay entirely within the circumference of the hollowed area and was defined by two pairs of terminal postholes, 9 and 10, and 21 and 22 respectively. They had a more gravelly fill than in those postholes in the above structure (8) and there was no apparent evidence of mottling in their profile. They contained more substantial postpipes, up to 0.18m in diameter and fragments of metal, bone, charcoal and coarseware pottery were found in their surrounding fill.

Report on the Remains of Human Skeleton

B. Westley, B.Sc., F.Z.S.

The skeleton is complete but in rather poor condition. Although most of the bones are clearly visible, any attempt to reconstitute limbs or even to release them from adhering soil, results in crumbling and has not been attempted beyond a first trial.

The position of the burial is face down with its arms behind its back and with the head to one side. There appears to be no container of any sort, and as it lay slightly flexed, it appeared to have been bound.

Skull This is in fragments and not capable of re-assembly. Because of this, the sutures are not very clearly defined but those that are visible suggest normal adult development and an age of no more than forty years. Erosion has affected the surface but there is a suggestion of good musculature and therefore possibly male sex, in a fairly large orbital fragment; and in two petrous parts and a condylar fragment which has marks of fairly strong muscle attachment.

Mandible The two halves of the mandible and thirty one of the thirty two teeth are present. All are healthy looking though considerably more worn down than might be expected in a modern set. This wear, in ancient peoples, is sometimes attributed to the coarseness of their diet and to fragments of the sandstone querns they used, being present in the flour. The third molars (wisdom teeth) are fully erupted.

Trunk Region The axis is present but only 19 small fragments of the vertebral column remain. The pelvis is greatly fragmented and the whole of the lower trunk is crushed.

Limbs The right arm is normal and uninjured, the left arm is more fragmented.

Right Leg The tibia shows a severe injury. A large part of the shaft is complete and shows a healed break towards the distal end. The lower quarter of the bone seems to have been crushed, as from a heavy blow from something large, such as a boulder. Subsequent healing has taken place; it must have been a long and very painful process and there is much outgrowth of the bone into a swollen looking mass in which the two legbones, tibia and fibula seem to have united. The fibula is broken into about a dozen pieces and has also been eroded so that the full area of the injury is not evident. But it is certainly severe and would seem more than likely to render the bearer permanently lame.

Left Leg The femur is better preserved than in the right leg and though broken up, the bones can be aligned. The general appearance is normal, fairly stout and unremarkable. There is a condition of platycnemia evident in a shaft fragment of the tibia. The left foot remains consist only of the calcaneum and astralagus, both complete and normal but rather eroded, and some fragments of the metatarsals.

Age The subject is fully mature, the wisdom teeth have erupted and all teeth are considerably worn down. This tooth wear might be attributable to a harsh diet or normal advancing age. It would be reasonable to put the age at 30-40 years.

Stature None of the limb bones is complete enough to measure and so no indices can be applied to arrive at a figure for the height. The bones look rather like those of a smallish, weedy individual.

Platycnemia This is a condition of the tibiae and is evident in both legs. It is a flattening, almost a hollowing, of the proximal part of the shaft which normally presents a flat rather than a hollow surface. Different

populations may show differences in the shape of their tibiae, but there are some authorities who consider this condition to be a sign of malnutrition, disease, or the adoption of the squatting attitude. It is not commonly found in early British material.

Animal Bone One metatarsal of a young pig (second year) was found among the bones from the 'trunk region'. The presence of pig bone is difficult to explain. It gives rise to thoughts of grave goods – the joint of meat buried with the deceased – but if this were so there would be more than just one metatarsal (a small part of the trotter). Moreover the skeleton was not in a container and the nature of the burial very unceremonious. It is probably a chance occurrence that has nothing to do with the burial.

Cause of Death There is no obvious cause of death to be seen. This is usual since the majority of deaths occur from defects, diseases or accidents that affect only the soft tissues and leave no osteological evidence. The attitude and lack of a coffin might suggest the victim of a battle but this can hardly be so as there is no doubt that the subject must have been lamed by the injury to the right leg and can hardly have been a soldier. He was a male cripple, of poor physique, meeting perhaps, some untimely death.

POTTERY

Three basic types of pottery were discerned. Fragments were either found in the context of the presumed plough furrow (F3) or in the hollow area (F2) adjacent to the entrance to the palisaded house site.

- (i) A very dark greyish brown fabric, 4-5mm thick, with a slightly laminar, biscuit-like core and a sandy dark brown coat.
- (ii) A 2-3mm thick black fibrous core with a light yellow brown sandy coat and an unevenly applied smooth brown burnish.
- (iii) A 7-8mm thick sandy core with a mottly smooth dark greyish brown/black coat on either face.

Small finds

A cylindrical jet bead with spiral decoration and a fragment of a bone comb were found in F2. Fragments of split and butchered pig bone were found in the palisade ditch (F6) and in F2.

SUMMARY

A large part of the archaeological complex at Newton Kyme had, at least until 1968, been under permanent pasture and ridge and furrow. Intensive cereal cultivation has subsequently removed all upstanding earthworks and reduced many subsurface archaeological features to an unrecognisable smear within a period of ten years or less. A probable plough furrow recorded in excavation (F3) suggests that the dessication of archaeological features was already under way in the later Medieval period.

The only archaeological features to respond positively in the geophysical survey were the northern perimeter ditch and entrance of a Roman marching camp of indeterminate area, and to a lesser extent a double ring ditch, approximately 25 metres in diameter. Part of the palisaded outer course of the latter site was recovered though its form could not be confidently determined beyond the excavation area. The visual and magnetic contrast between the fill of the archaeological features and the surrounding sand and gravel deposits was uniformly low.

The excavation of a pipe trench down the entire length of the field afforded an opportunity to obtain an estimate of settlement along a north-south axis. The only substantial archaeological features recorded in this section were at the intersection of the two main ditch features (4 and 6) in the excavation area, and a "return" of the palisaded ditch, 11.5m further north, which accorded with the course of the ring ditch outlined in the geophysical survey.

Features 8 and 9 appear to correspond to entrances to the ring ditch site. Each are distinct structures that are separated stratigraphically by the infill of the hollow area (2). This sealed the earlier of the two structures (9) and contained most of the finds, probably domestic debris, recovered in excavation. Overall they form part of a large and substantially built defended house site.

CONCLUSION

Newton Kyme was an important nexus of archaeological activity throughout the prehistoric period and an area of strategic importance in the Romano-British period, particularly during the first century AD. For much of the time it was a frontier area, on the margins of the Brigantian territory, and adjacent to a routeway of considerable though indeterminate antiquity, and a crossing of the river Wharfe at St. Mary's Ford.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the location of marching camp adjacent to this routeway and river crossing may have been the first military action undertaken by Roman forces in the area, prior to the establishment of a permanent fort further to the west in the later first/early second century AD. Cerealis' first century AD campaign into Brigantian territory is neither documented nor attested archaeologically with sufficient clarity to postulate the direction his forces took upon leaving the fortress at York. However the incomplete nature of the marching camp at Newton Kyme and the presence of mutilated and rudely interred human remains on the edge of the defences and within the entrance area of a palisaded house site may reflect the supposed "blitzkrieg" nature of this campaign.

The attendant double ring palisaded structure is of a type associated with Iron Age settlement in lowland Yorkshire, either a roughly circular or subrectangular enclosure surrounded by a timber palisade (Todd 1981, 58), and is an example of native settlement immediately prior to the Roman subjugation of the area.

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ACCOUNT ROLL OF THE MANOR OF LITTLE KELK 1323-4

University of London Library
Fuller Collection box 21 no. 6 a&b

Translated by Robert Hale

Introduction

Little Kelk was one of a number of manors in the East Riding of Yorkshire belonging to the Augustinian canons of Bridlington Priory in the middle ages.¹ The township lies 4 miles east-north-east of Great Driffield and 7 miles south-west of Bridlington. Earthworks in Ash Garths (TA 095601), in the crook of the road which links Lowthorpe to the north-west and Great Kelk to the south, probably mark the site of the grange established on lands granted to the priory during the thirteenth century.² This probability is well supported by archaeological evidence: the field is rich in remains of medieval date, with pottery sherds and oyster shells visible on the surface after ploughing.³ Sadly, Nunnery Hill, a 15ft. tumulus or small motte, was bulldozed in the last war and the site is now ploughed out, but a medieval pottery kiln has been found near the junction of the Lowthorpe-Great Kelk road and the road east to Burton Agnes.⁴

The manor of Little Kelk was granted to Bridlington Priory in 1271 by William de Boyville and Joan Talun his wife, and retained until the Dissolution; having then been sold by the Crown, it was conveyed to Sir George Griffith in 1549 and descended through the Griffiths and Boyntons with Burton Agnes.⁵ In 1947 over 50 documents relating to Great and Little Kelk from the twelfth to the seventeenth century were sent to Sotherby's by the Wickham-Boynton family and were purchased by Captain A.W.F. Fuller, upon whose death in 1965 his widow presented his collection to the University of London. Included among the items bought were six court rolls and five account rolls from this manor.⁶

The account roll for 1323-4 consists of three membranes about 7in. (18cm.) wide and measuring at their longest points 25½in., 11in., and 15¾in. (64.5cm., 28cm., and 40cm.) respectively. They were sewn Chancery-fashion, i.e. end to end to form one long roll.⁷ The hand is small and neat, the scribe using all the customary abbreviation found in medieval Latin documents (see Plate 1).

This is a typical example from what Professor Harvey calls Phase 2 of accounting methods in that period of demesne farming in England during much of the thirteenth

1. In addition to Bridlington and Flamborough, others in the vicinity of Little Kelk are named in a grant of free warren by Edward I to the prior and convent in 1290: Bessingby, Burton Fleming, Croom, Flotmanby, Fraisthorpe, Hallytreeholme, Skirlington, Speeton, and Willerby; see W. T. Lancaster, *Abstracts of the Charters and other documents contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington* (Leeds 1912), 216.
2. K. J. Allison, ed., *Victoria History of the County of York: East Riding*, vol. 2 (London 1974), 245.
3. *YAJ* vol. 43 (1971), 196.
4. I am grateful to the staff of the Sites and Monuments Record in Humberside County Council's Archaeology Unit, Beverley, for this information.
5. *V.C.H. E. Riding*, vol. 2, 245-6, citing Lancaster, *Bridlington Chartulary*.
6. In addition to the document presented here account rolls survive for 1309-10 (Fuller 21/13 a&b), 1325 (Fuller 21/9), 1328 (Fuller 21/7), and 1347-8 (Fuller 21/1 a&b). On the court rolls, see note 19 below.
7. The third membrane (21/6 b) has become detached from the first two (21/6 a), which are stitched with blue thread.

and fourteenth centuries, when local officials would annually answer to their lord for the efficient management of his estates.⁸ After a main heading naming Thomas de Bedall as serjeant of Peter de Wyverthorp at Little Kelk and stating the period covered by the account, there are three sections, for cash, corn, and stock. The front of the roll is filled by the cash account, in two parts: first all the monies received by Thomas, then all the monies paid out by him. Both receipts and expenditure comprise several paragraphs, each with a marginal heading and a sub-total. The illustration (Plate 1) shows the fourth to the seventh paragraphs of cash receipts ('Sale of produce from stock' to 'Principal and small oblations'). On the dorse of the roll are the corn and stock accounts. The corn account has two paragraphs for each crop in turn, detailing the quantities of corn or grain issued to the serjeant balanced by the quantities disposed of, again with marginal headings and a sub-total. The stock account lists each kind of animal in the margin by sex or age (e.g. boars, sows, pigs, piglets), records for each category the gains and losses during the accounting period, including movements from one group to another as animals grow older, notes all the produce such as eggs, milk, and hides of dead animals, and concludes each separate paragraph with the sum remaining.

Accounts generally run from one Michaelmas (29 September) to the next, but the account presented here covers only 10 months from Michaelmas 1323 to 26 July 1324. No certain explanation can be given for this shorter period, but Professor Harvey suggests that such an occurrence is often due to a change in ownership of the estate or a change of reeve or bailiff.⁹ The next surviving account roll for Little Kelk, which runs from 24 June to 29 September 1325, is that of Thomas le Mercher, who in the first item of cash expenses claims 48s. 10½d. for the balance due to him on *his* previous account (*pro debito compoti sui precedentis*).¹⁰ Thus he may have succeeded Thomas de Bedall in 1324. As consecutive rolls do not survive, however, the evidence is inconclusive.

Peter de Wyverthorp had become prior at Bridlington in 1315, and on his resignation in August 1321 the sub-prior and convent had provided him with the manor of Little Kelk and all the income from the chapel in the township.¹¹ Although Little Kelk has long been styled extra-parochial, in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at least it was evidently part of the parish of Foston on the Wolds. The tithes and oblations of Little Kelk had been leased by the priory from the rector of Foston since 1275 for 13 marks, to be paid each year at Martinmas in Foston church.¹² Even at favourable prices¹³ it required almost a third of the wheat grown in 1323 to be sold to raise this amount. The income from the chapel that year barely exceeded the cost of providing a chaplain.

Judging by entries in Archbishop Melton's register, Peter's time at Bridlington, admittedly a period of famine and scarcity,¹⁴ was a period of grave disorder and debt in the priory. Matters did not appear to improve there between his resignation and July 1324, when the archbishop ordered spending restraint and the rendering of detailed

8. On the general development and practices of manorial accounting see P. D. A. Harvey, ed., *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, circa 1200-1359* (Oxfordshire Record Society, vol. 50; H.M.S.O. with Historical Manuscripts Commission, Joint Publications Series, vol. 23; London 1976), 12-71.

9. *Ibid.*, 19. In fact only one of the five extant Kelk rolls (1347-8) runs for a full year.

10. Fuller 21/9.

11. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Register of Archbishop Melton, f.364r.

12. Fuller 13/23; Lancaster, *Bridlington Chartulary*, 171. The rector from 1290/1 to 1334 was Robert le Constable: N. A. H. Lawrance, ed., *Fasti Parochiales*, vol. 3 (Y.A.S. Record Series, vol. 129; 1967), 32-3. The sum of 13 marks, or £8 13s. 4d., remained unchanged for over 300 years: see *V.C.H. E. Riding*, vol. 2, 246.

13. J. E. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1866), 85-7: an average price in 1323-4 was 7s. per quarter, but Thomas's sales averaged about 8s. 6d.

14. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 201.

weekly accounts.¹⁵ Since at Little Kelk three-quarters of the second largest crop grown (dredge) was sold in 1323 to pay off debts from the previous year and, in addition to debts, there had been an excess of expenditure over income of nearly £20 owed to the serjeant and carried forward to 1323-4, it may be wondered whether the administration there had been equally lax.

The cash account shows no grand totals for income and expenditure for that year. Indeed, a space of 1½ in. (4 cm.) left unfilled between the main heading and the opening words of 'Sale of wheat', *Item respondet...*, suggests that if the accounting year had run its full course further receipts might yet have been added, similar to those at the head of the June-September 1325 account.¹⁶ These include rents from a house and a fulling-mill, and the farm of Great Kelk, and are preceded by the prominent sectional heading 'Receipts'. Such a heading on the roll translated here would have balanced the later sub-heading 'Expenses from the above'. Again, however, the absence of a full sequence of accounts means that this remains a matter for conjecture.

Customary practice was for the bulk of the account to be written out by a clerk for the almost certainly illiterate bailiff, reeve, or serjeant a few days or even weeks before the arrival of the auditors. The official would rely on his tallies, an occasional receipt, but largely his memory of the year's dealings. Spaces were left for any additional entries before or during the audit, and for paragraph totals to be inserted once the auditors were satisfied. Such additions and insertions are discernible on this roll either because they are slightly cramped or because they are written in brighter ink. (In the corn account the total for 'Oats' was carelessly omitted). Deletions are to be found too, and among several other expenses claimed but disallowed is one 'sale at the audit' (*vendicio super compotum*) where a corn allowance is rejected by the auditors and its value charged against the serjeant at the end of the cash account in the form of money supposedly received for it. Yet although the auditors at Little Kelk were firm, they were not thorough enough to eliminate all discrepancies, including one error of arithmetic in the serjeant's favour.¹⁷

Another discrepancy, in the stock account, may not be serious but is possibly significant in terms of both analysis of this document and developments in manorial accounting in general. Thomas claimed to have received 112 gallons of milk over 56 days between 20 May and 22 June. Whether the two cows gave no milk on seven days during those nine weeks or whether Thomas mixed up his dates is doubtless irrelevant; 112 gallons from 2 cows for 56 days is so conveniently precise a sum that it must represent a daily yield acceptable to his masters rather than an exact amount carefully measured. Similarly, the round figures of ducks' and hens' eggs produced in neat ratio to the number of ducks and hens laying them must surely be taken as suitable evidence of good husbandry, not as quantities accurately counted over 10 months. And if so, then although the serjeant may know precisely how many eggs were sold or placed under hens as stated, the numbers remaining, which he said were used in the guest-house (like a large proportion of the milk), must be treated with caution.¹⁸ When this acceptance of agreed quantities to be accounted for is extended to crops and livestock, signalling a reduction in direct supervision of the running of an estate, we see the first signs of the tendency in the later fourteenth century to abandon demesne farming of manors like Little Kelk in favour once more of fixed-rent leasing.¹⁹

15. W. Page, ed., *Victoria History of the County of York*, vol. 3 (London 1913), 202.

16. Fuller 21/9.

17. 'Repair of buildings', Total.

18. It is noticeable that consumption of eggs and milk is not quantified in 'Expenses of the guest-house'.

19. Harvey, *Manorial Records of Cuxham*, 34. Little Kelk appears to be leased in 1436 and 1461 (Fuller 21/8, 22/1; Justine Taylor, 'Court Rolls of Little Kelk Manor 1326-1461', unpublished MA report, University of London 1989, pp. 56, 63) and was certainly leased by 1467 (Fuller 13/36). Unfortunately no records survive for the second half of the fourteenth century.

Other problems exist. Although various names appear in the account, it is no more easy to build up a picture of the population of the manor from this than it is to work out how, for example, the horses were deployed there or how many carts were used. Equally frustrating to the modern reader is the absence of any explanation of the obviously important visit of Robert de Bassingham, and the serjeant's own involvement in it. Was it connected with the audit? It was Robert de Bassingham who as bailiff of the manor submitted the account of 1309-10. Was the account prepared in haste for him? Apart from the empty space at the beginning of the roll referred to above, the final paragraph in the stock account was added late, as if almost overlooked, and there are no details there for sheep or pigeons despite references to them elsewhere.

Despite these uncertainties, a valuable insight is afforded the reader of this account into medieval land cultivation, the division of employment between men and women, their respective rates of pay, the prevalence of disease in livestock, and the cost of food and materials in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Notes on the translation

To preserve as far as possible the spirit of the document, the translation which follows is deliberately literal. Although Arabic numerals are used, entries run on in paragraphs, since the use of Roman numerals (without the concept of zero) in the original precludes the arrangement of accounts in columns. For economy, which in Latin is achieved by wholesale abbreviation, 'he answers for' or 'he renders account/he accounts for', with which the scribe introduces almost every sentence, are usually omitted after the first occurrence in each paragraph. Full spelling of 'one' instead of the numeral reflects the scribe's own inconsistency.

Where *C* or *centum* rather than *v^{xx}* occurs in the account for quantities other than cash sums it is taken as the long hundred of six score, 120. Not only is this interpretation supported elsewhere,²⁰ but it is also substantiated within the account in 'Expenses relating to the church', where mass celebrated on 'a hundred' days (*per centum dies*) at 1d. per mass costs 10s., in 'Ducks' eggs produced', where *CC* is balanced by 60+65+115, and in 'Hens' eggs produced', where *DC* must be 720 to balance.

The following conventions are used:

Round brackets indicate words and figures underlined in the manuscript as a reminder to the auditors that they are unit prices or average quantities for calculation purposes only, and not to be included in paragraph totals.

Angle brackets denote deletions by the auditors.

Square brackets show editorial addition or comment.

Marginal headings have been brought into the body of the text.

In the footnotes, *OED* refers to the Second Edition of *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 20 vols., (Oxford 1989).

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20. I. Kershaw, ed., *Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers' Accounts, 1473-1539* (Y.A.S. Record Series, vol. 132; 1970), 20; F. M. Page, ed., *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts, A.D. 1258-1323* (Northamptonshire Record Society, vol. 8; 1936), xxxvii; cf. also Humberside County Record Office, DDCC 15/357, Account roll of the manor of Burstwick 1403-4, (Petty expenses) *Et in CClx bordis emptis pro granario emendando, precium centene vj s., xv s.*

MANOR OF LITTLE KELK

ACCOUNT ROLL 1323-4

[m.1]

Account roll of Thomas de Bedall, serjeant of sir Peter de Wyverthorp at Little Kelk, for all receipts and expenses made there by him from Thursday the day of Michaelmas 1323 [29 Sep.] until Thursday the day after the feast of St James the Apostle next following [26 July 1324], 43 weeks.

Sale of wheat

First he answers for 19s. received from 2 quarters of wheat sold shortly before Martinmas [11 Nov.] to raise the money to be paid to the rector of Foston (price per quarter 9s. 6d.) And for 72s. received from 8 quarters of wheat sold for the same shortly after Martinmas (price per quarter 9s.) And for £4 received from 10 quarters of wheat sold shortly before Christmas for the same (price per quarter 8s.) And for 42s. received from 6 quarters of wheat sold shortly after Easter [15 Apr.]²¹

Total £10 13s.

*Sale of dredge*²²

Likewise he answers for £6 15s. received from 36 quarters of dredge sold at Martinmas to repay various sums of money borrowed the previous year (price per quarter 3s. 9d.)

Total £6 15s.

Sale of stock

Likewise he answers for 24s. received from 3 fat pigs sold (price per pig 8s.) And for 18s. received from 3 fat pigs sold (price per pig 6s.) And for 3s. received from one old sow sold shortly before Christmas then almost dead. And for 3s. received from 2 weak hoggets²³ sold. And for 2s. received from 4 weak piglets sold. And for 5s. 6d. received from 2 wethers sold, which remained in the manor after the lord's return. And for 4s.²⁴ received from 60 pigeons sold (that is, 5 pigeons for 2d.)

Total 59s. 6d.

Sale of produce from stock

Likewise he answers for 1d. received from 1 hide sold, from a calf dead from murrain.²⁵ And for 6d. received from 1 stone of cheese sold. And for 2½d. received from 3 pounds of butter sold. And for 5d. received from 120 hens' eggs sold. And for 5d. received from 100 ducks' eggs sold.²⁶

Total 19½d.

21. Unit price not given.

22. Oats and barley mixed.

23. Pigs in their second year.

24. Altered from 2s. at the audit (but the unit price following is left unchanged).

25. Disease in animals.

26. Cf. Stock account below: only 60 eggs sold.

Sale of hay

Likewise he answers for 2s. 2d. received from grass sold to Adam the thresher in the Langmar and the Lytelmar. And for 16d. received from grass sold to William Adekok in the Thremarres. And for 4s. received from Simon Curtais and his fellows for his thatch sold in the Westker.²⁷ And for 12d. received from a man from Harpham for thatch sold to him near Lingholmes.²⁸

Total 8s. 6d.

Taxation²⁹ of turves

Likewise he answers for 2s. received from taxation of 12 cartloads of turves dug for the use of Thomas de Bedall this year. And for 16d. received from Richard le Day for taxation of 8 cartloads of turves this year. And³⁰ for 2s. 4d. received from 14 cartloads of turves, received from other tenants.

Total 5s. 8d.

Principal and small oblations

Likewise he answers for 9½d. from principal oblations received on St. Andrew's Day [30 Nov.] and on St. Nicholas's Day [6 Dec.]. And for 10d. from principal oblations received on Christmas Day. And for 12d. from principal oblations received on Easter Day. And for 2d. received for the purification of Richard le Day's wife. And for 1¾d. received for the purification of John Alayn's wife. And for 1d. received from oblations for candles forgotten when 2 infants were baptised.

Total 3s. 0¼d.

Receipts of various tithes

Likewise he answers for 4s. 9½d. received from Lenten dues this year. And for 12½d. received from white tithe³¹ of 5 cows and 5 calves this year. And for 3s. received from 3 tithe lambs received this year and sold. And for 2d. received from Peter at the cross for tithe of 4 lambs.³² And for 4d. received from William the miller for shortfall of lambs.³³ And for 16d. received from 2 fleeces of tithe wool sold, weighing 4lbs. And for 2d. received from Peter at the cross for shortfall of wool.³⁴ And for 2d. received from William the miller for the same. And for 4d. received from Lecia Suart for the same. And for 6d. received from Adam the thresher for the same.

Total 11s. 10d.

Likewise³⁵ he answers for 10d. received from perquisites of court.

27. Simon Curtais' work included roofing: see 'Wheat: expenses' below. It is not possible to identify the fields named in this paragraph.

28. Harpham is 1 mile north; Lingholmes Plantations lie between it and Little Kelk (Ordnance Survey maps).

29. Only this account of those extant for Kelk refers to 'taxation' rather than 'sale' of turves, the receipts being similar in either case.

30. This entry added at the audit.

31. Tithe of dairy produce: MS *de decima alby*.

32. Accords with a statute on tithe, probably by Archbishop Boniface in the mid-thirteenth century: see F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, ed., *Councils & Synods with other documents relating to the English church, II 1205-1313*, (Oxford 1964) part II, 792. Those who had fewer than 10 lambs, and could not therefore give a tenth in tithe, were to pay ½d. per lamb up to six lambs; for seven or more, one of the lambs was to be handed over, the rector giving 'change' at the same rate.

33. *pro imparitate agnorum*. So William presumably had eight lambs, and might strictly speaking have been required to give one.

34. *pro imparitate lane*.

35. The last three entries of cash receipts are a later addition at the audit.

Likewise he answers for 12d. received from the lord.

Likewise he answers for 12s. 3d. from 2 quarters 2 bushels of corn sold at the audit from William de Etton's allowances.³⁶

Expenses from the above

From balance due

First he renders account for the balance due to him on the last account, £19 17s. 9¼d.
Total³⁷

Costs of ploughs

Likewise he renders account for the service of 1 carpenter making 4 new ploughs from timber of the manor, 10d. And for 24 pieces of iron bought for maintaining the ironwork of 4 ploughs during the period of the account, 5s. (price per piece 2½d.) And for 10 pieces of iron bought for the same, 22½d. (price per piece 2¼d.) And for the service of the smith fitting the said 34 pieces of iron on the ironwork of the ploughs, 5s. 8d. (that is, 2d. per piece fitted). And for 1 bundle of steel³⁸ bought for the same, 9d. And for the service of the smith fitting the said bundle of steel, 9d., as much as it cost. And for 16 strakes³⁹ bought for the ploughs, 2s. (price per strake 1½d.) And for the service of the smith making 4 new strakes from old strakes, 2d. And for 4 pieces of iron bought for 12 mouldboard-clouts⁴⁰ then to be made from them, 10d. And for the service of the smith making 12 mouldboard-clouts from the said 4 pieces of iron and from old mouldboard-clouts, 10d. And for the service of 1 carpenter fitting 4 ploughs with a share-beam from stock of the manor, 4d. And for the service of 1 carpenter making 2 new harrows and repairing other harrows for 2 days, 6d. And for 12 pairs of traces bought for the ploughs, 6d. And for the service of 1 man working 1 stone of hemp from tithe, namely into 12 pairs of traces and 12 halters for the horses, 2½d. And for 12 'thomestastes'⁴¹ bought for the halters, 3d.

Total 20s. 6d.

Costs of carts⁴²

Likewise he renders account for the service of 1 man working 2 stones of hemp from tithe and 1 stone of horse-hair from stock of the manor, namely into 8 tethers 7 *lattere*⁴³ in length for all the horses, 1 rope 13 *lattere* in length for the carts, and 1 pair of traces for the carts, 7½d. (that is, 2½d. per stone). And for 5 horses shod by piece-work during the period of the account, 3s. 1½d. (that is, 7½d. per horse). And for 8 clouts bought for the carts, 4d. And for 60 nails bought for attaching the said clouts, 1d. And for 1 horse-hide whittawed⁴⁴ for harness for the carts from stock of the manor, 6d.

Total 4s. 8d.

36. See final entry of 'Allowances' below.

37. Amount clearly written above *Summa* and not repeated.

38. *garba calib*; a bundle usually contained 30 pieces (*OED*).

39. Sections of iron forming a band round a wheel (as distinct from a continuous iron tyre).

40. Clout: plate of iron fitted to wooden implements, wagons, axles, etc., to prevent wear; mouldboard: part of the plough which turns the mould, or earth, to the proper angle after it has been cut by the ploughshare.

41. English word, not identified. Possibly connected with 'thome' (obsolete): thumb (*OED*); or with 'tome', obsolete variant of 'taum': fishing-line, and cognate with Dutch 'toom': rein or bridle (*OED*).

42. MS *carect* (or *carett*) throughout; translated as plural.

43. Unit of length, not identified.

44. Made into leather of natural colour, not tanned.

Wages

Likewise he renders account for the wage of the master ploughman for the year, 5s. And for the wages of 3 ploughmen for the year, 16s. 6d. (each receiving 5s. 6d. for the year). And for the wages of 4 pages⁴⁵ for the year, 12s. in equal portions.

Total 33s. 6d.

[m.2]

Petty expenses

Likewise he renders account for 2 new sieves bought, 3d. And for repairing 2 sieves, 2d. And for the service of 1 man repairing 1 oven by piece-work, 6d. And for the repair of 1 lead vessel and one cooking-pot, 3d. And for 1 new net bought, 6d.

Total 20d.

Repair of buildings

Likewise he renders account for the service of 1 man roofing the southern part of the barn, the hall, and the dove-cot, and [making good] other defects in the buildings of the manor for 21 days, 3s. 6d. (receiving 2d. per day with board). And for the service of one page serving him for the same period along with the help of the maid of the manor, 10½d. (that page receiving ½d. per day with board). <And⁴⁶ for the service of 1 carpenter making 1 new house in the township for the use of William de Etton from timber of the manor and roofing the said house and making a palisade> next to the east gate for 18 days, <18d.> with board. And for 120 double-spikenails bought for the same house for attaching the rafters and making the doors, in particular for attaching the hinges, 3½d. And for the hinges nothing, because they were made from iron of the manor. And for 120 spikenails bought for repairing the doors of the barn, the granary, the hay-barn, and other doors of buildings of the manor, 3d. And for the service of the smith repairing 1 iron tie for the barn door, 1d. And for the service of 1 man repairing the jamb next to the door in the dove-cot with stone, 2d.

Total 4s. 2d.⁴⁷

Purchase of stock

Likewise he renders account for 1 male calf bought for stock of the manor, 2s. 4d. And for 1 bullock bought during Lent almost one year old, 5s. 6d. And for 2 male calves bought, 4s. 6d. And for 5 goslings bought, 12d. (price 2¼d. each and ¾d. extra in total).

Total 13s. 4d.

Purchase of corn

Likewise he renders account for 4 bushels of wheat bought for allowances, 3s. And for 2 quarters of rye bought for the same, 8s. 8d. And for 1 quarter of rye bought for the same, 5s. 1d. And for 1 quarter 2 bushels of rye bought for the same, 7s. 6d. (at a price per quarter of 6s.) And for 10 quarters of barley bought for allowances, 50s. (price per quarter 5s.) And for 5 bushels of barley bought for the same, 2s. 8½d. (at a price per quarter of 4s. 4d.) And for 7 quarters of peas bought for seed, 24s. 6d. (price per quarter

45. *Pagius* as opposed to *serviens* or *famulus* occurs a number of times and is translated invariably by 'page', formerly in the most wide and general use for a boy employed as a servant or attendant, to assist and learn from an upper or more experienced servant or officer (OED). Here, clearly ploughboys: see also 'Allowances: expenses' below.

46. Struck out at the audit, the carpenter, Simon Curtais (Curtays), being paid an allowance for this work: see 'Wheat: expenses' below.

47. *Rectius* 5s. 2d.

3s. 6d.) And for 3 quarters of beans and peas bought for seed and called blendings,⁴⁸ 14s. 6d. (price per quarter 4s. 10d.) And for 2 bushels of peas bought, 12d.

Total 116s. 11½d.

Threshing

Likewise he renders account for threshing of 58 quarters 5 bushels of wheat, 12s. 2¼d. (that is, 2½d. per quarter), and no more for threshing of wheat because 10 quarters were threshed by servants of the manor. And for threshing of 20 quarters of barley, 48 quarters 4 bushels of dredge, and 14 quarters 4 bushels of oats, 10s. 4½d. (that is, 1½d. per quarter). And for threshing of peas nothing, because it was done by servants of the manor. And for the service of 1 woman cleaning⁴⁹ wheat for seed for 26 days, 19½d. (the woman receiving ¾d. per day). And for winnowing of corn nothing, because it was done by the maid and pages of the manor.

Total 24s. 2¼d.

Expenses of the guest-house

Likewise he renders account for ale bought for expenses of the guest-house between Michaelmas and Sunday before the feast of St William of York, which was Whit Sunday [29 Sep.-3 June], 35 weeks, 10s. 3d. And no more for ale because they brewed 2 bushels of barley malt. And for relish⁵⁰ bought...

[m.3]

...over the same period, 9s., and no more for relish because they had eggs and 1 small bacon from stock of the manor. And for ale bought for expenses of the guest-house, namely for Thomas de Bedall, Robert de Basingham,⁵¹ Thomas Whyttop, Lecia Suart, and 2 pages, between Saturday the eve of Whitsuntide and Monday after the feast of Peter and Paul the Apostles [2 June-2 July], 4 weeks and 1 day, 6d., and no more for ale because they brewed 4 bushels of barley malt. And for relish for the said period nothing, because they consumed 1 small bacon, 30 pigeons, 1 stone of cheese, 3 pounds of butter, and milk from stock of the manor. And then Robert de Bassingham and Thomas Whittop went off towards Cambridge to meet the lord. And he renders account for the expenses of the lord and his household from Sunday after the feast of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr on which day the lord came to the guest-house until Sunday before the feast of St James the Apostle [8-22 July], 2 weeks. Firstly, for bread baked, 1 quarter of wheat from stock of the manor. And for ale brewed, 1 quarter of malt from stock. And for mutton, 6d., and no more for meat because they had one quarter of mutton from the gift of William de Cowton, and 1 goose, 1 capon, 1 small chicken, and 10 pigeons from stock of the manor. And he renders account for veal and mutton bought on Thursday after the feast of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr [12 July] because he learned of the arrival of sir Roger de Thorn and sir John de Swaldall, 7d. And for herrings, 2¼d. And he renders account for 2 bushels of salt bought for expenses of the guest-house, 12d. And for half a stone of tallow, 9d.

Total 22s. 9¼d.

48. MS 'blendinges'. Northern dialect for peas and beans grown together in a crop as food for cattle: J. Wright, ed., *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London 1898-1905).

49. Ensuring no other grain was mixed with it; see glossary by P. McClure in D. Woodward, ed., *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, vol. 8; London 1984).

50. *companagium*, literally something eaten with bread.

51. Robert de Basyngham (the spelling of this surname and Thomas Whittop's varies) had submitted an account as bailiff of the manor in 1309-10 (Fuller 21/13 a&b).

Costs of pigs and wages

Likewise he renders account for 3 quarters of draff⁵² bought for the pigs for 6 weeks in summer from Whitsun to Sunday before the feast of St Margaret [3 June-15 July], 12d. And for the gelding of 14 female piglets, 3d. And for the wages of one page looking after the pigs for the term of Martinmas to Whitsun [11 Nov.-3 June], 2s.

Total 3s. 3d.

Dairy

Likewise he renders account for the service of one cowherd looking after 2 cows and 2 stirks for the period of the account, 16d. And for 1 ell of canvas bought for the dairy, 2d. And for the service of the maid of the manor making dairy produce and winnowing all the corn of the manor during the period of the account, 2s. And for the service of little Adam looking after the hall in winter and the geese in summer, 12d.

Total 4s. 6d.

Expenses relating to the church

Likewise he renders account for money given to Adam the thresher in recompense for 1 Agnus Dei penny,⁵³ 6d. And for the service of one chaplain celebrating in the chapel of Little Kelk for a hundred and twenty days from Thursday the day of Michaelmas until Sunday the day after [the translation of] St Thomas the Martyr [29 Sep.-8 July], 10s. (the chaplain receiving 1d. per mass and celebrating three times a week).

Total 10s. 6d.

Hoeing

Likewise he renders account for the services of 14 women hoeing for 7 days, 8s. 2d. (each receiving 1d. per day).

Total 8s. 2d.

Costs of hurdles and pasturage

Likewise he renders account for the service of Simon Curtais making 18 hurdles⁵⁴ over 6 days from timber of the manor for the pasturing of wethers in the field, 6d. with board. And for 2 foals pastured in Cattleholmes⁵⁵ over the whole summer, 8d.

Total 14d.

Money payments

Likewise he renders account for money given to Thomas de Dounsele for amercement⁵⁶ against John de Waldeby at Holderness wapentake court, 3s. 4d. And paid to the rector of Foston church for his rent at Martinmas, £8 13s. 4d., for which he has a receipt. And given to John de Cotum for his rent at Martinmas, 2s. And paid to John de Lesset for arrears of his wages by order of the lord, 4s. And paid to Hugh de Thornholm for an

52. Or 'hog's wash': especially dregs from malt after brewing, given to pigs.

53. ? MS *pro recompensacione j d. Agni*. For an example of the Agnus Dei on coins, see R. E. Latham and D. R. Howlett, ed., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, fascicules A-H (London, in progress 1975-), agnus 2e: c.1300 xxx florenos ad agnum, in *Ancient Correspondence* vol. LV p.14, Public Record Office, London, ref. S.C.1, (cf. *ibid.*: *exceptis xxx florenis agni . . . supradictis*). A penny, now very rare, showing the lamb of God, symbol of Christ resurrected, was minted in the reign of Aethelred II c. 1000, specifically, it has been said, to mark the millenium: see R. A. G. Carson, *Coins Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (London 1970), 232.

54. MS 'barres'. On 'folde barres' see Woodward, *Farming Book of Henry Best*, 17-19.

55. 2 miles south-south-west (par. Lowthorpe).

56. (Infliction of) a fine.

old debt, 10s. And paid to sir John Raytel for his service from the time of Brother Peter⁵⁷, 3s. 4d.

Total £9 16s.

Expenses

Likewise he renders account for 1 coat and 1 courtepy⁵⁸ bought for Thomas le Mercher⁵⁹ by order of the lord, 10s. And for 1 tunic bought for Thomas Whittop by order of the lord, 2s. 6d. <And for money given to Robert de Bassingham for his expenses towards the lord at the feast of Peter and Paul the Apostles [29 June], 6d.>

Total 12s. 6d.

[m.1d]

Wheat

Issue

First he answers for 67 quarters 6 bushels of wheat received from issue of the barn heaped⁶⁰ the previous year (of which 10 quarters were threshed by servants of the manor) and no more because 1 quarter was used.⁶¹ And he answers for 4 bushels of wheat received from purchase. And for 4 quarters 2 bushels of rye received from purchase. And for 2 quarters of peas and 1 quarter of barley received for mixing with wheat and rye for expenses of the guest-house.

Total 75 quarters 4 bushels

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 26 quarters in seed sown over 83 acres and 1 rood (that is, 2½ bushels per acre) heaped. And mixed with peas and barley for the servants' allowances, 6 quarters 4 bushels of wheat and 3 quarters 4 bushels of rye. And in bread baked for expenses of the guest-house between Michaelmas and the feast of St Petronilla [29 Sep.-31 May], 35 weeks, for those of 1 man and his page roofing buildings of the manor for 21 days, and for those of Simon Curtays making and roofing 1 new house in the township for 18 days and making hurdles for pasturing wethers for 6 days, 6 quarters of wheat, 3 bushels of rye, 1 quarter 6 bushels of peas, and 1 quarter of barley mixed. And then Robert de Bassingham came. And he accounts for 4 bushels of wheat, 3 bushels of rye, and 2 bushels of peas in bread baked for the expenses of Thomas de Bedall, Robert de Bassingham, Thomas Whittop, Lecia Suart, and 2 pages from Wednesday the day before the feast of St Petronilla until Monday after the feast of Peter and Paul the Apostles [30 May-2 July], 4 weeks and 3 days. And then Robert de Bassingham and Thomas Whittop went off towards Cambridge to meet the lord. And they remained outside the manor with the lord until Sunday the day after the translation of St Thomas the Martyr [8 July] for 6 days and then came to the guest-house. And he accounts for 1 quarter of wheat in bread baked for the expenses of the lord and his household from the said Sunday the day after the translation of St Thomas the Martyr until Thursday the day after the feast of St James the Apostle [8-26 July], 2 weeks and 3 days, and [for

57. *de tempore fratris Petri*: possibly refers to Peter de Wyverthorpe when prior 1315-21.

58. MS 'curteby', a short coat or cloak.

59. Thomas le Mercher prepared an account for the manor for 24 June-29 Sept. 1325 (Fuller 21/9).

60. Not raised measure; MS *avantagio*, 'with the extra', "usually 21 quarters of corn counting as 20 quarters": L. F. Salzman, ed., *Ministers' Accounts of the Manor of Petworth 1347-53* (Sussex Record Society vol. 55; 1955). This was to guard against loss, especially with corn threshed by hired labour ('Threshing' above): see P. D. A. Harvey, *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village: Cuxham, 1240 to 1400* (London 1965), 53-6, and citing Page, *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*.

61. 'and no more . . . used' interlined at the audit to balance 1 quarter struck out in 'Expenses' below.

the expenses] of the many visitors. And in sales, 26 quarters. And given to the smith for his gratuity, 1 bushel by agreement. And <given⁶² to Thomas del Hill keeper of the swans, 1 bushel.> And in bread baked for the expenses of the harvesters to be eaten around harvest-time, 1 bushel. And repaid to the sower⁶³ from Burton⁶⁴ for maslin⁶⁵ borrowed from him the previous year, 1 quarter 4 bushels. And for expen<ses⁶⁶ the previous year, 1 quarter, as appears in the rolls of the previous account.> And sent to the granary on the feast of St James [25 July], 3 bushels.

Barley

Issue

Likewise he answers for 15 quarters of barley, and no more because 5 quarters were used the previous year,⁶⁷ received from issue of the barn heaped. And for 10 quarters 5 bushels of barley received from purchase.

Total 25 quarters 5 bushels

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 7 quarters 4 bushels of barley in seed sown over 20 acres of land (that is, 3 bushels per acre) heaped. And mixed with dredge for seed, 2 quarters. And mixed with wheat and peas for the servants' allowances, 13 quarters. And for making malt, 2 quarters. And mixed with wheat for expenses of the guest-house, 1 quarter, as appears above. <And for expenses the previous year, 5 quarters, as appears in the rolls of the previous account.> And in feed for the goslings, ducklings, and chickens, 1 bushel.

Dredge

Issue

Likewise he answers for 48 quarters 4 bushels of dredge received from issue of the barn heaped. And for 2 quarters of barley received to mix with dredge for seed as appears above.

Total 50 quarters 4 bushels

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 9 quarters 4 bushels in seed sown over 19 acres of land (that is, 4 bushels per acre) heaped. And in sales, 36 quarters. And for making malt, 2 quarters. And mixed with oats for fodder for the horses, 3 quarters from the extract of dredge.⁶⁸

Peas

Issue

Likewise he answers for 11 quarters 6 bushels of peas received from issue of the barn

62. Struck out at the audit. Yet without this allowance the total of expenses is 1 bushel short. Alternatively, if the amount issued from the barn ('Issue' above) were 1 bushel less, it would tally better with the quantity threshed ('Threshing' above).

63. ? MS obscure: *Semar..o*.

64. More likely to be North Burton alias Burton Fleming 7½ miles north, where the priory also had a manor, than Burton Agnes 2 miles north. See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York* (English Place-Name Society, vol. 14; Cambridge 1937), 112, citing Lancaster, *Bridlington Chartulary*.

65. Mixed grain, especially wheat with rye.

66. See 'Income' and note 61 above.

67. 'and no more . . . year' interlined at the audit to balance 5 quarters struck out below: see 'Expenses'.

68. *de extractu drageti*, i.e. oats separated from the mixture of oats and barley? Cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*, *extrahere* 7: to refine (a substance), and *extractus* (noun): essence, extract.

heaped. And for 7 quarters 2 bushels of peas received from purchase. And for 3 quarters of beans and peas received from purchase called blendings.

Total 22 quarters

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 9 quarters 1½ bushels in seed sown over 29½ acres of land (that is, 2½ bushels per acre) heaped. And mixed with wheat, rye, and barley for the servants' allowances, 4 quarters 5 bushels of peas. And mixed with wheat, rye, and barley for expenses of the guest-house, 2 quarters of peas. And for fattening 7 pigs, 3 quarters. And in feed for 8 piglets in winter, 4½ bushels. And mixed with oats for fodder for the horses, 2 quarters 5 bushels.

Oats

Issue

Likewise he answers for 14 quarters 4 bushels of oats received from issue of the barn heaped. And for 3 quarters from the extract of dredge for fodder for the horses. And for 2 quarters 5 bushels of peas received for mixing with oats for fodder for the horses.

Total ⁶⁹

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 7 quarters 4 bushels in seed sown over 12 acres of land (that is, 5 bushels per acre). And in flour made for pottage,⁷⁰ 1 quarter. And in feed for the geese while they were sitting, 3½ bushels. And in fodder for 4 cart-horses of the manor drawing in the plough-team for 161 nights during the sowing of wheat, peas, oats, dredge, and barley, 10 quarters ½ bushel (each horse receiving ½ peck per night). And in fodder for 8 horses for 9 nights during the sowing of dredge and barley, 1 quarter 1 bushel (the horses together receiving 1 bushel per night).

Allowances

Receipts

Likewise he answers for 6 quarters 4 bushels of wheat, 3 quarters 4 bushels of rye, 13 quarters of barley, and 4 quarters 5 bushels of peas received for allowances as appears above in various places.

Total 27 quarters 5 bushels

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 14 quarters 2½ bushels 1 peck in allowances given to 4 ploughmen from Thursday the day of Michaelmas until Thursday the day after the feast of St. James the Apostle for 43 weeks [29 Sept.-26 July]⁷¹ (each man receiving 1 quarter per 12 weeks). And in allowances made to 4 pages driving the ploughs for the same period, 10 quarters 6 bushels (each receiving 1 quarter per 16 weeks). And in allowances given to a certain shepherd from Saturday Christmas Eve until Thursday the day after the feast of St. James the Apostle for 30 weeks 3 days [24 Dec.-26 July], 2 quarters 4 bushels 1 peck (the shepherd receiving 1 quarter per 12 weeks). From⁷² which must be

69. '20 quarters 1 bushel' omitted.

70. A medieval dish, often highly composite (*OED*), using liquid from the boiling of meat or vegetables, seasoned, and thickened for example with oatmeal flour, as here.

71. The full period of the account.

72. Added at the audit: see final entry of cash receipts.

subtracted for allowances given to William de Etton for half a year until Whitsun, 2 quarters 2 bushels which are sold at the audit for 12s. 3d.

[m.2d]

Malt

Receipts

Likewise he answers for 2 quarters of malt made from as many quarters of barley. And for 2 bushels of malt received from the increase (of the said 2 quarters). And for 2 quarters of malt made from as many quarters of dredge. And nothing from produce of the said 2 quarters because dredge does not give any.

Total 4 quarters 2 bushels

Expenses

Of which he accounts for 6 bushels brewed for expenses of the guest-house. And 1 quarter brewed for expenses of the lord between the feast of the translation of St Thomas the Martyr and the feast of St James the Apostle [7-25 July]. And sent to the granary on the feast of St James, 2 quarters 4 bushels.

Stock account

Horses

First he answers for 6 stallions and 7 mares remaining in the previous account. And for 1 filly remaining in the previous account, issue of the great mare, then aged 2½ years, now 3 years and to be added to the horses for the plough.

Total 14

Of which he accounts for 2 in murrain.

And 12 remain including 6 mares.

Hides

Likewise he answers for 2 hides from horses dead from murrain.

Total 2 hides

Of which he accounts for 1 hide whittawed for harness for the carts. And for 1 hide torn up by dogs⁷³ before it could be found.

Foals

Likewise he answers for 2 foals remaining in the previous account, then aged 1½ years, now 2 years and more.

Total 2

And they remain.

The great mare with her offspring

Likewise he answers for 1 great mare known as the stud-mare. And for 1 filly then aged 2½ years, now 3 years. And for 1 male foal then aged 1½ years, now 2 years and more.

Total 3

Of which he accounts for the said mare in murrain. And for the said filly added to the horses for the plough.

And 1 male foal remains.

73. For similar occurrences, see Harvey, *Manorial Records of Cuxham*, 521, 602.

Hide

Likewise he answers for 1 hide of the said mare.

Total 1

Which he accounts for whittawed.

And it remains.

Cows

Likewise he answers for 2 cows remaining in the previous account.

Total 2

And they remain.

Bullock

Likewise he answers for 1 male stirk remaining in the previous account, then aged 1½ years, now 2 years and more.

Total 1

And it remains.

Calves produced

Likewise he answers for 2 calves received, issue of 2 cows this year, born on the feast of the Blessed Peter's Chair [22 Feb.] And for 4 male calves of various ages received from purchase.

Total 6

Of which he accounts for 1 in murrain immediately after calving.

And 5 remain.

Calf's hide

Likewise he answers for 1 hide from the calf dead from murrain.

Total 1

Which he accounts for in sales.

Milk produced

Likewise he answers for 112 gallons of milk received from 2 cows over 56 days⁷⁴ between Sunday before the feast of St Augustine Apostle of the English and Sunday before the feast of St James the Apostle [20 May-22 July], and no more because the calves which he had from purchase were suckling until the said Sunday before the feast of St Augustine.

Total 112 gallons of milk

[m.3d]

Of which he accounts for 10½ gallons of milk in feeding 11 piglets for 21 days. And for expenses of the guest-house, 66 gallons of milk.

And thus there remain for cheese

then to be made of them, 35½ gallons of milk.

Cheese

Likewise he answers for 2½ stones of cheese resulting from the 35 [sic] gallons of milk remaining for cheese to be made as appears above.

Total 2½ stones

Of which he accounts for 1 stone in expenses of the guest-house. And in sales, 1 stone.

74. *Rectius* 63 days?

And given to the mower for his breakfasts, 1 cheese weighing 2 pounds. And sent to the guest-house, 2 cheeses amounting to 4 pounds.⁷⁵

Butter

Likewise he answers for 1 stone of butter received from produce.

Total 1 stone

Of which he accounts for 3 pounds sold. And in expenses of the guest-house, 9 pounds.

Oxen

Likewise he answers for 8 oxen remaining in the previous account.

Total 8

And they remain.

Boars

Likewise he answers for 1 boar remaining in the previous account. And for 1 boar received by addition.⁷⁶

Total 2

Of which he accounts for 1 boar killed by Walter de Kelk's boar.

And 1 remains.

Sows

Likewise he answers for 3 sows remaining in the previous account.

Total 3

Of which he accounts for 1 sow sold.

And 2 remain.

Pigs

Likewise he answers for 11 pigs and 9 hoggets, then piglets, remaining in the previous account.

Total 20

Of which he accounts for 1 hogget added to the boars as appears above. And in murrain, 1. And in sales, 8. And slaughtered for expenses of the guest-house, 1 hogget.

And 9 remain.

Piglets produced

Likewise he answers for 16 piglets received, issue of 2 sows, born shortly after Michaelmas. And for 19 piglets received, issue of the 2 sows, born on the feast of the Holy Trinity [10 June].

Total 35

Of which he accounts for 4 sold at Martinmas from the older piglets. And in murrain from the younger ones, 8.

And 23 remain.

Old geese

Likewise he answers for 6 ganders, 12 old geese, and 4 young geese remaining in the previous account.

Total 22

Of which he accounts for 1 in expenses of the servants of the manor for their harvest

75. Thus 1 st. = 12 lb., as in 'Butter' below.

76. From 'Pigs' below.

geese. And in expenses of the guest-house, 1.

And 20 remain.

Goslings produced

Likewise he answers for 96 goslings received, issue of 9 geese this year. And for 5 goslings received from purchase.

Total 101

Of which he accounts in murrain for 51 of the lord's and for 1 of sir John de Gysburgh's.⁷⁷

And 49 remain.

Old ducks

Likewise he answers for 8 ducks remaining in the previous account.

Total 8

And they remain.

Duck's eggs produced

And he answers for 240 eggs received, issue of 6 ducks.

Total 240

Of which he accounts for 60 in sales. And placed under 5 hens, 65 eggs, for ducklings to be had from them. And in expenses of the guest-house, 115.

Ducklings

Likewise he answers for 60 ducklings received, produced this year.

Total 60

Of which he accounts for 18 in murrain.

And 42 remain.

Hens and chicks

Likewise he answers for 16 cocks and hens remaining in the previous account. And for 12 chicks received, produced by them. And for 6 hens received in rent handed over.⁷⁸ And for 18 chicks received as a gift for the lord.

Total 52

Of which he accounts for 9 castrated and added to the capons.

And 43 remain.

Capons

Likewise he answers for 9 capons remaining in the previous account. And for 9 capons received by addition.

Total 18

Of which he accounts for 2 in expenses of the lord.

And 16 remain.

*Hens' eggs produced*⁷⁹

Likewise he answers for 720 eggs received, produced by 12 hens during the period of the account.

Total 720

Of which he accounts for 15 eggs placed under 1 hen for chickens then to be had from them. And in sales, 120 eggs. And in expenses of the guest-house, 585 eggs.

77. I.e. one of the five purchased?

78. ? MS *de redditu fornat*'.

79. Paragraph added later, at the audit?

LIONEL, LORD WELLES AND HIS METHLEY MONUMENT

By Pauline Sheppard Routh

The battle of Towton has given rise to a number of legends perpetuated over five hundred years as 'history' – the white roses that grew blood-flecked ever after Palm-Sunday-field, the villagers huddled in prayer in the tiny chapel at Lead, Lord Dacre buried upright on his charger in the churchyard at Saxton. Another tradition that lingers on is that the body of Lionel, Lord Welles was secretly conveyed from the battlefield to be interred with that of his first wife at Methley church, ten miles away.

Of his death there is no doubt.¹ 'Un the contrary part is ded Lord Clyfford, Lord Nevyle, Lord Welles...' as William Paston wrote to his brother John on 4th April, 1461,² though there was a rumour a few days later, obviously unfounded, that '...som men talke Lord Wellys...ben on lyve.'³ Be that as it may, there is no evidence as to the authenticity of the 'lyke wake walk' to Methley, and it may well be apochryphal.

There is certainly no doubt as to the existence of Lord Welles's alabaster monument and effigy at Methley, and very fine they are, as is the figure of his first wife, which lies beside his (Plate 1). There is some confusion as to her christian name, which is recorded variously as Joan, Cecilia or Cecily,⁴ but she was of the Methley branch of the great local family of Waterton, which originated in Lincolnshire, and after the death of her brother, Robert Waterton III, was the heiress, in her issue, of the family estates. The effigies of her grandparents, Robert Waterton I and Cecily Fleming, also lie in alabaster splendour in St. Oswald's, under the founder's arch between the chancel and the Waterton Chapel.⁵

Scion of another old Lincolnshire family, seated at Welle near Alford in that county, Lionel, Lord Welles was born in 1406, and at the age of eleven was married at Methley to Joan (or Cecily) Waterton, daughter of Robert Waterton II and Joan Everingham. In 1421, his father and grandfather being dead, he became the ward of his father-in-law, and like the Watertons, was an ardent Lancastrian. He was installed a Knight of the Garter in 1457. By Joan Waterton, who died and was buried at Methley between 1434 and 1447, he was the father of a son Richard, and four daughters.⁶ In the latter year Lord Welles married Margaret Beauchamp, the widow, firstly, of Sir Oliver St. John, by whom she had had two sons and five daughters, and secondly, of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by whom she was the mother of Margaret Beaufort and the grandmother of Henry VII. By Lord Welles she had a son John, who supported his 'nephew', Henry Tudor, and was created by him, Viscount and Knight of the Garter. As king, Henry also arranged his marriage to Cecily Plantagenet, second daughter of Edward IV and

1. Ch. Inq. P.M., 1 Ed. IV, No. 32.

2. *The Paston letters, 1422-1509* ed. J. Gairdner, 1874. Vol. II p. 5; *op. cit.* ed. J. Fenn 1840. Vol. I p. 127.

3. *Ibid.* Gairdner pp. 7-8; Fenn p. 129.

4. *Cal. Papal registers; Papal letters* Vol. VIII pp. 512, 514-5; and *Complete Peerage* Vol. XII p. 444. Her mother was named Joan, her grandmother, Cecily.

5. For a detailed description of these see the section on Methley in P. E. Routh, *Medieval effigial alabaster tombs in Yorkshire*, Ipswich 1976. pp. 75-83.

6. *Complete Peerage, op. cit.* pp. 443-5, p. 449 n. (j). See also genealogy in J. E. Powell and K. Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (1968), p. 532.



Plate 1. Lionel, Lord Welles, and Joan (or Cecily) Waterton. Effigies on the monument at Methley.

younger sister of his own wife, Elizabeth of York.⁷ Margaret Beauchamp, the second wife of Lionel, Lord Welles, survived until 1482, although her effigy had lain alongside that of her second husband, the Duke of Somerset, in Wimborne Minster, Dorset, since c1444.

The exact date of the Welles monument is uncertain, but it is probable that it was made in a Midland workshop, and certainly in the same one that produced the alabasters at Christchurch (Hants., now Dorset), Salisbury Cathedral, Greens Norton (Northants.), Little Dunmow (Essex), and last but not least, the badly mutilated effigy of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, at Burghfield in Berkshire.⁸ The distinguishing features of this group are a uniform competency of craftsmanship and unmistakable similarities in details of armour, costume, facial characteristics, hair-style and overall artistic 'line'. The group dates to the 1440-1470 period. One would expect the Welles monument to be erected on the death of Joan Waterton, *viz.* before 1447, but certainly the knight's effigy cannot have been carved until after 1457, as he wears the Garter below his left knee. It is strange that as a Lancastrian, he does not wear the collar of SS, and this may be an indication that the effigy was made in the early Yorkist days, after his death at Towton, though perhaps ordered during his lifetime (Plate 2).

The armour is in the Germanic style, the plate fluted and ribbed. The neck is



Plate 2. Lionel, Lord Welles. Details of effigy at Methley.

7. Cecily was at this time around eighteen years of age, and had been betrothed or married to Ralph Scrope, a member of Richard III's household, and a younger brother of Thomas, 6th Baron Scrope of Masham, and who eventually became 8th Baron. This union was annulled in 1486 (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, *Consistory Act Book 1484-1489*, 4. f. 88R.).
8. For an assessment of the last-named see P. Routh, 'Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury: the Burghfield effigy'. *The Ricardian*, Vol. VI, No. 87. December 1984, pp. 417-423.

protected by a mail standard, and there is a small triangle of mail dependent between the tassets centre front. The large couters are also fluted and sharply pointed at the elbow, and fasten with two arming points. The poleyns protecting the knees, have fan-shaped guards. Over the body armour is worn a tabard, bearing on breast and sleeves the delicately incised Welles arms of the double-tailed lion rampant. The hips are girded by a horizontal belt of large square links, from which the sword hangs on the left. The scabbard shews the interesting detail of the fringed flap protecting the blade of the weapon. The knight is represented as bare-headed with very short hair. The nose has been restored. Under the head is the great helm on which only the feet of the crest, the lion statant, survive. The be-ringed praying hands are carved with the most realistic detail. The feet rest on a sitting lion.

The lady is a most graceful figure, though the face is mutilated. Her head, in an intricately-carved mitred headdress, lies on two cushions held by angels, and a heavy chain necklace encircles the throat. Over her sideless surcoat falls a mantle bearing, on the right side the arms of Waterton, *barry of six (ermine & gules) overall three crescents (sable)*, and on the left, those of Welles, (or) *a lion rampant queue fourchée (sable)*. In the folds of her gown at the feet, crouch two little dogs with collars of bells.

The tomb-chest has ten standing forward-facing angels holding shields and wearing mitre-shaped coronets (Plate 3). There are six at the side and two on each end, and the

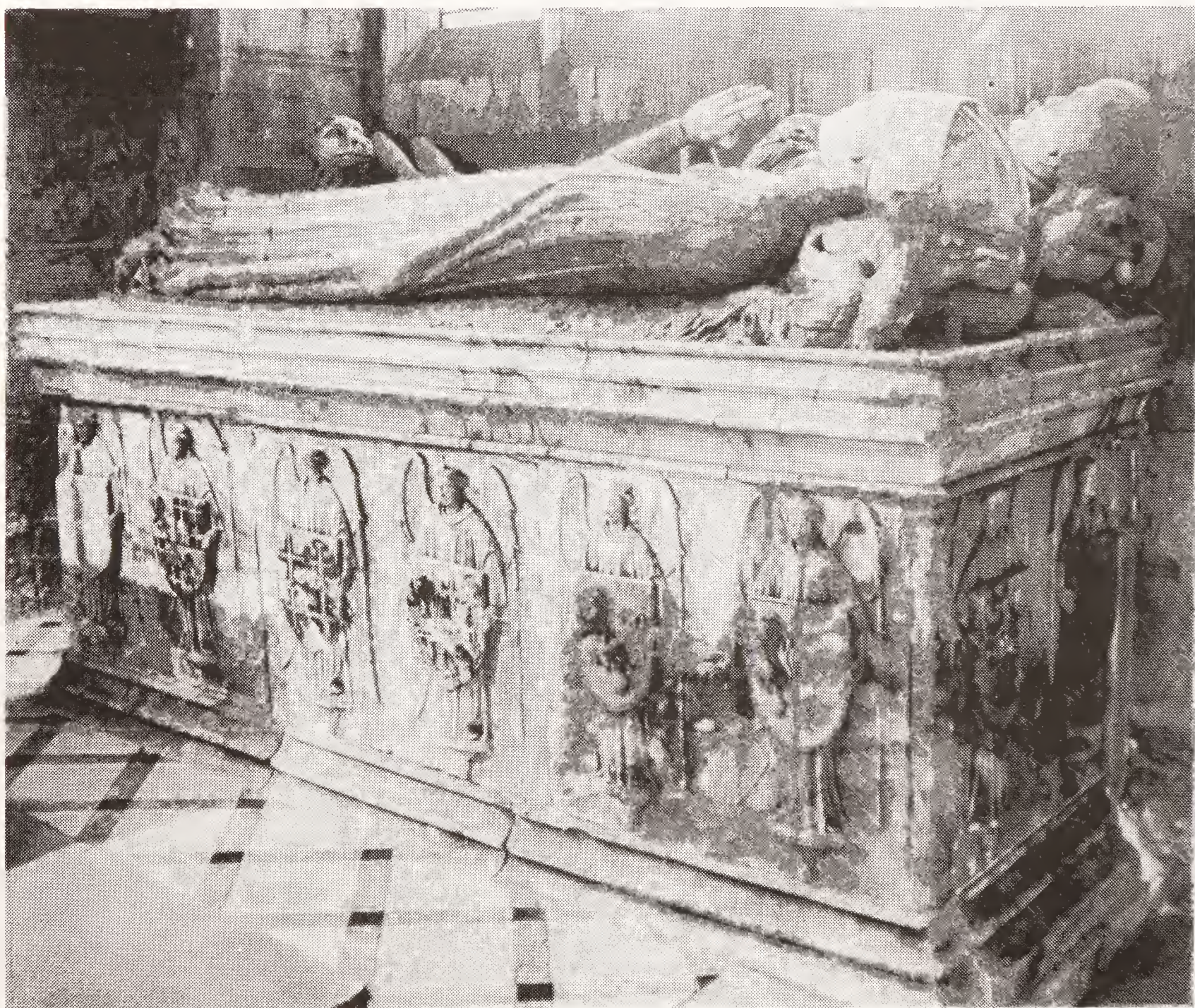


Plate 3. The Welles monument at Methley.

shields bear arms in restored tinctures as follows:

- West end. 1. *Barry of six ermine & gules overall three crescents sable.* (Waterton)
 2. *Or a lion rampant queue fourchée sable.* (Welles)
- East end. 1. Unrecognisable but presumably Waterton.
 2. Welles.
- North side. 1. Unrecognisable.
 2. Quarterly 1 & 4 Welles, 2 & 3 *Sable a cross engrailed or* (Willoughby) *quartering gules a cross moline argent* (Beke. Richard the son of Lionel and Cecily Welles married Joan, daughter and heir of Robert Lord Willoughby de Eresby. These then, are the arms of *their* son Robert. Richard and his son were beheaded in 1469 after the Lincolnshire Rising.)
 3. Willoughby quartering Beke. (Robert 1st. Lord Willoughby de Eresby, was heir of his great-uncle Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, and thereafter quartered his arms.)
 4. Welles impaling 3. (The arms of Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby *jure uxoris* – see 2. *supra.*)
 5. Welles.
 6. Welles impaling Waterton.

Henry Johnston, a seventeenth century antiquary, in his sketch of the monument (Plate 4) shews the side-panel shields as bearing 1 & 4 Welles, 2 & 5 Welles impaling Waterton, 3 & 6 Quarterly 1 & 4 Welles, 2 & 3 Willoughby quartering Beke, at that time.⁹

It is obvious that the Welles tomb cannot be in its original position. In the south-east corner of the Waterton Chapel, it occupies the place alongside the altar where the piscina, the stone basin built into a wall niche for the washing of the sacred vessels, would be. When the chantries were dissolved in the late 1540s, the altar in the chapel was presumably taken down, and many years later the stonework below the most easterly of the south windows was cut away to form a wide sill, and the Welles monument was placed against it, the knight's effigy resting on the sill, and the tomb-chest losing its south side and part of its east and west ends in the process. It does seem possible that the effigies were transposed at the time of removal. Aesthetically it would have been more satisfying had the knight's helm with its crest, and the head of the lion at his feet, been on the outside, rather than between the two effigies.

Without the discovery of further documentation it is not possible to say when this removal took place, or from where. The monument would have been free-standing, and were the chapel built by the middle of the fifteenth century one would have expected the grand-daughter of the first Robert Waterton, the daughter of the second, and the sister of the third, to lie within its confines. But though her grandfather left money for its building in 1425, there has always been doubt that this was carried out straight away. The date still cited with some authority by Pevsner is 1484,¹⁰ but this may partly be determined by the foundation of the chantry of Our Lady, 15th. January 1494,¹¹ by Sir Christopher Willoughby and Sir Robert Dymoke, great-great-grandsons of Robert Waterton I, and grandsons of Lord and Lady Welles. Sir Robert Dymoke was Hereditary Champion, and acted in that capacity at the coronations of Richard III, Henry VII and Henry VIII.

There is a possibility that the monument was in the chancel. There is documentary evidence, but it is somewhat ambiguous. John Hopkinson, another Yorkshire antiquary,

10. N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire: the West Riding*, 1959. p. 364.

11. *The certificates of the commissioners appointed to survey the chantries, guilds, hospitals etc. in the county of York*. Vol. II Surtees Society, 1893. p. 317.

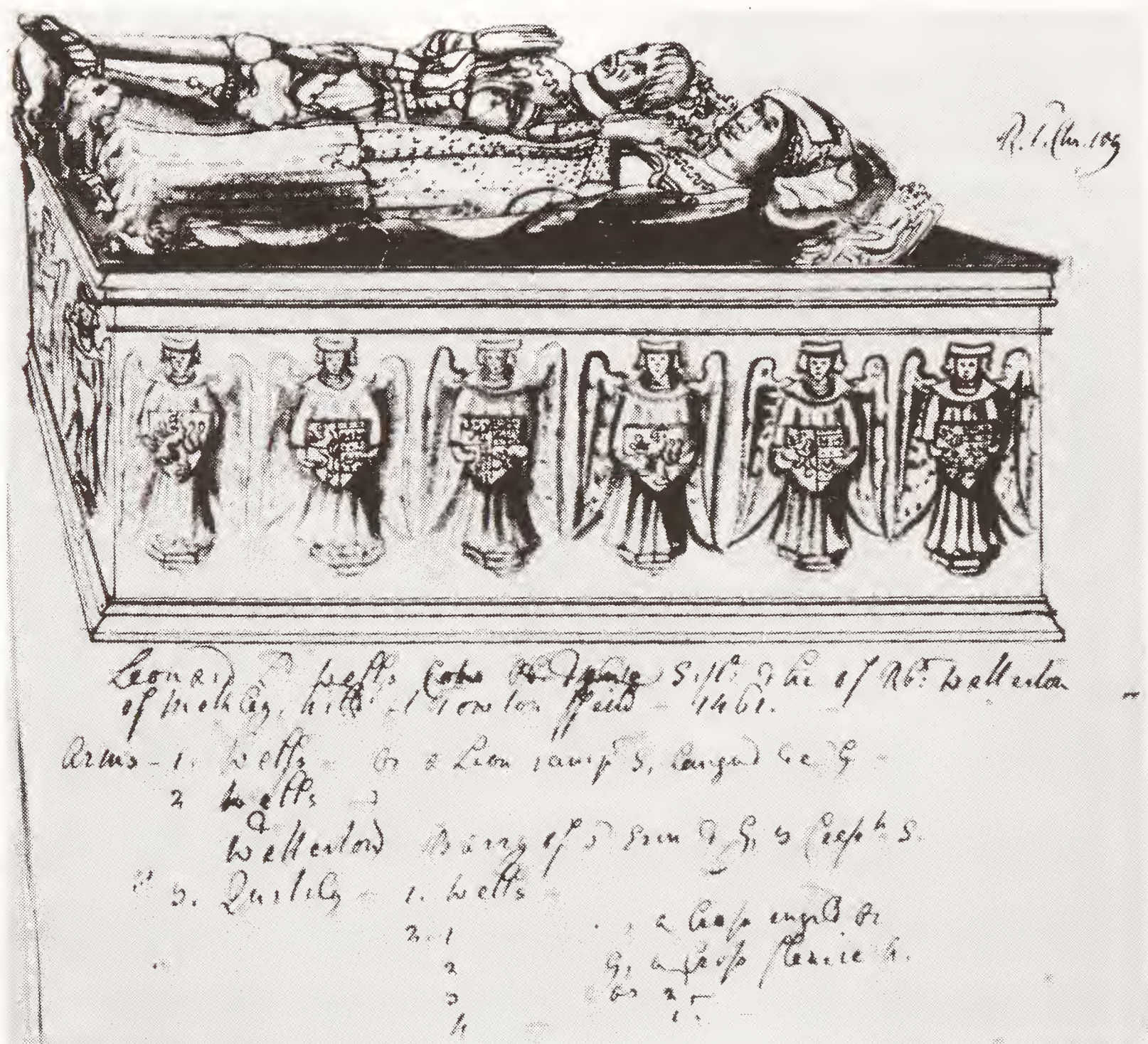


Plate 4. The Welles monument at Methley: drawing and notes from Henry Johnston's MS. (Bodleian Library, Oxford. Top. Yorks. C13, f. 11)

accompanied Sir William Dugdale on his Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665-6, acting as his secretary, and it would be at this period that he made his own notes on Yorkshire families and heraldry. One copy of his 'Pedigrees' is in the possession of the Leeds Library, and in this we find:

...Waterton & Flemings Arms with a Mullet are impaled on a Tomb and beautify the roof of the South Side of the South Quire of Methley Church which was built by the Executors abovesaid, and from abovewritten Will appears the reason why upon the Skreen between the said Quire and Chapel of the South Isle is painted Watertons coat, with a Bend sur le tout Argent and under it Johes Waterton and then William Scargill & Thomas Wombwell under their respective Arms. And upon the Freeze of the Partition of this Chapel from the quire of the Church

Pray for the Soule of Robert Waterton and Cecilye his Wife

That will take to his Kingdome their poore and endless Life.

And Bapthorps Arms are upon the Timber betwixt the aforesaid Quire and Isle. In the Church are several other Armes...In the north side & Isle and the second Window Westward Or a Lion rampant sable double queue being the Arms of Wells impaled with Waterton and upon a Tomb in the Quire the same...¹²

12. The Leeds Library, Wilson's transcript of Hopkinson's MSS Vol. I. p. 473.

It is not clear whether the tomb was in the 'quire of the Church' or the 'south quire' – the Waterton Chapel. If the former, it was still there in the 1660s; if the latter, it may have been free-standing in the middle, or already moved into the corner. Henry Johnston's sketch shews it at roughly the same period, with the effigies placed in relation to each other as they are now, but does not indicate any reduction in the width of the end-panel, though he only draws two shield-bearing angels, where there would surely have been three originally. On balance, the monument had probably already been moved, and possibly to accommodate the massive three-effigy Savile tomb of the early seventeenth century. This was eventually placed against the east wall of the chapel, where it remained until 1948, at which time it was removed to its present position just inside the south door. The Waterton Chapel still houses several Savile memorials, including two ostentatious eighteenth-century marbles with semi-reclining figures, one by Scheemakers and the other by Wilton.

The chapel was furnished with an altar once more, and in 1954 the medieval ceiling of sunbursts and feathered angels¹³ was repainted to excellent effect. Feathered angels also figure in the eight tracery lights of the chapel's east window, the only glass to be in its original position. The four main lights are filled with glass taken from the east window of the chancel, and is the sum total of medieval glass surviving in the church.

At the head of lights two and three are shields of arms: Waterton – *Barry of six ermine & gules, overall three crescents sable*, and the same impaling Fleming – *Barry of six argent & azure, in chief three lozenges gules differenced by a mullet*.

Across the centre of the four lights are portrayals of named saints, in lights one and four, the four Latin doctors of the church, SS Jerome and Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory. In light two, SS Margaret and Christopher. In light three, SS John Evangelist and John Baptist. The remainder of the glass is a mosaic of canopies, borders, quarries and fragments of figures. The effect of the whole is splendid, but it is sad to realise how much has been lost even since it was in the chancel window, and even then, much was fragmentary and from elsewhere in the church.¹⁴

The Chapel has undergone further renovation in 1988-9, including conservation work on the Waterton and Welles monuments, which should preserve them from the ravages of time for many years to come. In fulfilling its purpose as a place of devotion, memorials must necessarily take second place in the priorities of the Chapel. Nonetheless, it is regrettable that that purpose seems to preclude siting the Welles monument in a free-standing position, thus reconciling utility with historical accuracy.

The author is indebted to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for the use of the Johnston drawing, and to Geoffrey Wheeler for the photographs.

13. These have two pairs of wings, and stand upon wheels, thus seeming to exemplify the 'living creatures' of the prophet Ezekiel's vision (Chapter 1).

14. J. Fowler, On the painted glass at Methley, Part II. *Yorks. Arch. Journal* III 1873. pp. 226-245.

THOMAS LORD DARCY AND THE ROTHWELL TENANTS, c.1526-1534

R. W. Hoyle

On 2 June 1509 Thomas lord Darcy of Temple Hirst, soldier and courtier, received the grant from Henry VIII of two parks near Leeds, both until that moment the property of the duchy of Lancaster.¹ The first, Roundhay Park to the north of Leeds remains (although truncated) an open space to this day. The other, Rothwell Haigh, which lay between Rothwell village and the river Aire and with which this paper is concerned, is largely built upon or spoilt by several centuries of industrial development. In the eighteenth century it was rent by the Leeds-Pontefract turnpike (now the A639); in the twentieth the M1 motorway was driven through its western edge. There is little of the medieval landscape left to see. The divergent development of the two parks may, in part, be traced to decisions made in the years immediately following Darcy's grant. Rothwell was progressively disparked and improved. By 1526 the tenants of Rothwell village and the surrounding townships were objecting to Darcy's activities which, they alleged, impinged on their customary grazing rights. Matters came to a head on 3 May 1532 when a crowd of at least 250 persons (a third of whom were women) drawn from Rothwell and its neighbouring villages threw down Darcy's new fences. (The origins of these rioters are shown in table one). Smaller crowds returned to finish off the work in the days following. Then on 25 April 1533 the park was again the scene of a riot against Darcy's fences. By mid-summer Darcy had successfully obtained the imprisonment of a local gentleman, William Leigh of Middleton, in the Fleet prison in London for his alleged complicity in the riots. Why Darcy was the victim of these acts of violence, what his neighbours thought that they were protecting and how both parties defended their rights in the courts of the duchy of Lancaster (and elsewhere) form the subjects of this paper.²

I

In coming to understand the role that the park at Rothwell played in the economy of Darcy's estate and the domestic economy of the inhabitants of the area around Rothwell, we must put from mind all notions of the eighteenth century park. Rothwell Haigh was in essence a wood, some of which was coppiced (or at least had been in the past) but

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1. DL42/22 fo. 3r-v. Darcy had previously been tenant of the park for 20 years from 1506, E210/10416. All manuscripts cited in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, are to be found in the Public Record Office. Many are printed in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* (hereafter *LP*) especially the *Addenda*, volume one. Miss Margaret Condon made available to me in advance of their accessioning a further group of recently discovered Darcy manuscripts; these will be added in time to SP46 but are here cited with a brief description of their contents. I am grateful to Steve Moorhouse for reading an earlier version of the paper and sharing his knowledge of the topography of the Haigh. The paper was completed whilst I held a research fellowship funded by the British Academy to whom thanks are due.
 2. For earlier but much slighter accounts of the dispute, see R. B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the reign of Henry VIII, the West Riding* (1970) pp. 161-2, Buchanan Sharp, 'Common rights, charities and the disorderly poor', in G. Hely and W. Hunt (eds.), *Reviving the English Revolution* (1988) pp. 121-3. For a discussion of agrarian conflict in the sixteenth century, R. B. Manning, *Village Revolts. Social protest and popular disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (1988).

TABLE ONE

Rioters reported to the duchy by Darcy.

	Men	Wives and Women servants	Total
Rothwell	36	[28]	64
Oulton	31	[16]	47
Carlton	30	11	41
Woodlesford	8	8	16
Rodes	11	3	14
Lofthouse	4	0	4
Tenants of William Leigh	34	11	45
Tenants of Richard Grave	17	2	19
Totals	171	79	250

Source, SP1/237 fos. 158-160 (schedule of names annexed to the bill in *Darcy v Hunt*).

Note to table one:

The table is based on the totals given in a schedule attached to Darcy's bill against the tenants. This provides for each township a list of male rioters, the total number of all rioters from each township and (except for Rothwell and Oulton) the number of wives and female servants present. A further version of this list (fos. 173-6) gives slightly different figures for the number of men involved from each township but only a single comprehensive figure for the number of women, 168 men and 82 women.

most was natural standing woodland.³ It was enclosed within a pale. Internally there were areas of clearing (lawns) which served for deer to graze in. Moreover it was not an empty space. It was doubtless true that the land was underexploited and as we shall see, it was more heavily utilised after 1509. But unused it was not.⁴

Darcy and the tenants had similar but competing uses of the park. For Darcy it was firstly a source of rental income. In 1528 the park brought in rents totalling £99 13s 4d all of which save £9 from leases of closes within the park. Amongst the tenants was the park's keeper, Edmund Parker, who rented five closes for £59 6s 8d. The last £9 came from the agistment of cattle by the tenants of Rothwell and Oulton, Woodlesford and Carleton with Rodes. When a further survey was made after Darcy's attainder nine years later, the overall picture remained unchanged.⁵ Against this direct income must be charged a rent of £15 7s 0d due to the king as a fee farm.

Darcy's casual income from the park is much harder to estimate. It is possible to see the economy of the park in much greater detail for the part year between the winter of 1520 and the summer of 1521 through the survival of the account of the then park's keeper, Richard Pickering.⁶ Pickering, it is clear, was running a large scale business selling wood for fuel. Between February and November 1521, he sold 135 loads of kidds at 8d a load each and 6060 faggots at 16d a hundred. The majority of his clients took only small quantities. In his busiest month, September, 15 named individuals bought 25 loads of kidds, 10 taking two loads and one three. Where they came from is unclear, the account speaking only of wood sold to the men of Leeds and Rothwell. But whilst the volume was large, the income was small, totalling only £4 10s 0d for kidds and £4 0s 8d

3. The enclosure of areas within the park for coppicing is referred to in *LP Add I* no. 796 (i). The closes assigned to the tenants were described as the 'common wood' in 1537.

4. On medieval woodland in general, see O. Rackham, *The history of the Countryside* (1986), chs. 5-6; P. Stamper, 'Woods and Parks' in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds.), *The countryside of medieval England* (1988). Steve Moorhouse has an article on the economy of medieval parks appearing in *Landscape History* which draws upon material from Rothwell.

5. DL43/11/15, 16.

6. SC12/21/19.

for faggots. Against this has to be charged 42s 8d for preparing the wood for sale. The firewood market, as might be expected, sold an invaluable but practically valueless product. This would be coppice wood; we know nothing of the sale of the timber from the Haigh.

Darcy's income from grazing was equally slight. The winter gist of the close called the Carr brought in £3 2s 4d, the winter pasture of the Out Grounds £3 10s 8d. In the summer of that year, the Carr brought in £14 14s 8d: there is no mention of the Out Grounds being let out.⁷ Again this was drawn from a large number of individuals in small amounts. The summer gist was taken by some 67 individuals grazing a mixture of horses, mares and various types of cattle for either the whole season or the half season, but normally only a handful each. Robert Ellis of Morley, who had 10 sheep, 6 naws and 2 horses in the Out Grounds from Christmas to Easter, was entirely exceptional.

Darcy was also using the park for his own purposes. The accounts include the wages of the labourers who prepared 96 loads of wood for carriage to his house at Temple Newsam. And Pickering had the responsibility of keeping at the park a larder of live meat for consumption in the household. Over the period of the account, he bought 288 animals of various shapes and sizes at a cost of £29 8s 0d. There is no indication that Darcy was breeding or rearing animals at Rothwell (although he did maintain a cattle farm at Roundhay); rather Pickering was buying in animals locally a few each month and holding them in the park until he received word to send them on to the kitchens.⁸ In June 1521 he also bought 5 draught oxen and 10 kine, all save the two oxen at Adwalton fair.

Compared to the rental income from the leased lands in the park, the casual income was trifling and doubtless hard earned. Moreover Darcy was engaged throughout the 1510s and 1520s with improving the park and thereby increasing his income. Describing his activities in pleadings before the duchy court in 1532 and 1533, he explained how when he had first come to the park, it was full of old oaks and *grevys*, *brakes* and *fousches* since when he had 'by his industry and policy and to his great costs and charges caused a great part of the park to be rid, stocked, felled and stubbed and caused over 300 acres to be eved and sown'.⁹ Darcy's chosen method of optimising his rents was by making improving leases of parcels of the park, two of which survive. In January 1517 he leased the east end of the Haigh adjacent to the township of Woodlesford to a partnership of six men drawn from Woodlesford. At the end of a term of ten years, they were to have left the land cleared of trees and roots in sufficient condition that it could be 'tilled, ploughed and sown with the usual ploughs'. They were given the concession of selling the standing timber for their own profit.¹⁰ The rent was £4; when the lease was renewed for a further 40 years in 1527, the rent was increased to £10.¹¹ Similarly in June 1525 Edmund Parker and his sons William and Thomas had the lease of a close called Old Rewles in the New Park for 20 years at £10.¹² The lessees were charged (at their own costs and within two years) with building a dwelling house in the close. They were to lay the close to grass and use it as arable ground, again felling the wood for their own profit (although Darcy forbade them to sell it to the inhabitants of Leeds or Rothwell, perhaps to protect his own

7. By 1528 the Carr was in lease to Edmund Parker. DL43/11/15.

8. Pickering's accounts include 2s 6d paid to Thomas Townend and his son for driving cattle to Temple Hirst. SC12/21/19 fo. 11v.

9. *LP Add I* 783 (14).

10. E210/10018.

11. DL43/11/15.

12. E210/10793.

timber and firewood business).¹³

For Darcy this was obviously advantageous for his own income, but he also claimed benefits for the rector of Rothwell, whose tithe income was improved, and for Rothwell itself, whose inhabitants laboured on the new arable and who had a readier supply of corn. The inhabitants themselves were less sanguine. It was their contention throughout their litigation with Darcy in the seven years or so between 1526 and 1533 that they had a right to graze in the summer throughout the park. In the 'letters testimonial' they prepared for the king's council (and which 33 of their number attested), the 'poor tenants' of Rothwell claimed that their custom was that they had a right to pasture as many beasts as they could overwinter on their tenements paying on a scale of charges, 12*d* a horse, 8*d* a young horse, 6*d* a beast and 4*d* a stirk. (The 'letters' are printed below in appendix two). This claim, repeated on various occasions, appears to have been less than veracious. Various Rothwell men and the old agister, Richard Pickering were willing to depose in 1533 that there had been a long history of closing off areas of the park for either coppicing or leasing to tenants. In this there was nothing unusual; medieval parks were normally divided into areas managed to different ends. But as they said in their testimonial, 'now of late time, Thomas lord Darcy hath enclosed all the aforesaid park and ground and make it all in tenantry (i.e. tenanted) to his own profit and [has] wrongfully taken the freedom and custom from the aforesaid tenants...'

Moreover the progressive enclosure of the park and the clearance of woodland made it impossible for the tenants to exercise other rights. In about 1526 Pickering drew up a list of trespasses in the park which reveal all too clearly how the inhabitants regarded it as a free resource to be drawn upon and the struggle which Darcy's servants had in preserving inviolate their employer's property. Pickering noticed half a dozen instances in the autumn of 1526 of men pasturing flocks of sheep in the park without licence. More seriously, there were a few instances of local people felling wood without seeking consent and in one case a man took a load back to Carlton town end where Pickering caught up with him and warned him of Darcy's displeasure. And on Christmas Day 1525 Anthony More of Oulton sent his daughter and Anthony Birkby his servant into the park to cut holly. They were met by one of Darcy's officers who confiscated their axe and took it to his lodge from where it was retrieved by Birkby in January.¹⁴

We have in addition the tenants' own estimate of the Haigh's importance to their livelihood and the damage that the progressive enclosure of the park did to their welfare. In their 'letters testimonial' they stated categorically that their expulsion by Darcy had led to 'their great poverty and undoing so as the tenants be not able to do the king's highness grace such service [in war] as they be bounden to do. Moreover there is diverse ploughs in the same lordship cast down by reason thereof. And also [it] is likely to cast down many more in decay for ever'.¹⁵ These themes of poverty, depopulation and of inability to offer the king his military service were taken up in other documents. The answer of the tenants to Darcy's bill in the aftermath of their first riot stresses the damage Darcy's private profiteering was doing to their ability to fulfill their public obligations. The two hundred tenants who had an interest in the park had been able to offer the king 50 'tall men' with harness when required for war. If Darcy was permitted to take their common from them, the two hundred would be 'undone and driven to sell

13. Darcy also kept the New Park stocked with deer but by 1528 the whole was leased to Parker. The 1531 map shows that the New Park lay in the north of the Haigh, nearest the river Aire and possessed its own pale. Pickering's recollection was that it had been made by Ralph Hopton about 50 years before (i.e. c. 1480). *LP Add I* no. 796 (i).

14. SP46 unlisted, memorandum of intrusions in the park, by Richard Pickering. The holly would be intended for animal feed; see M. Spray, 'Holly as fodder in England', *Agricultural History Review* 29 (1981) and the references given there.

15. E328/147 (below Appendix two).

away their cattle and brake up their houses and all their said tenements [would] fall into ruin and decay'.¹⁶ In their replication, the same tenants added further information. Nineteen ploughs in Rothwell were laid down and their lands left unoccupied. Fifty men from the parish had served at Flodden where they had lost horses and geldings worth £50, for which they were never recompensed.¹⁷ Exactly the same themes were taken up by the tenants when they prosecuted their bill against Darcy. The enclosure of the park had impoverished the tenants, had led to the decay of Rothwell itself and 30 ploughs. The court needed to uphold the claims of the tenants to maintain the town and the *manrede* of the same.¹⁸

It would be wrong to accept the tenant's claims at face value. Colourful they might be, even plausible, but we must acknowledge that they are incapable of independent confirmation. Darcy, no less biassed a witness, denied that there were any fewer ploughs in Rothwell than previously and, as we saw, claimed that the community had benefitted from his activities in the Haigh. We must appreciate how the tenants' allegations were carefully designed to play on the fears of government. Their purpose was to show that Darcy's enclosures ought to be the subject of larger than local anxieties because they were producing impoverishment and depopulation and which served to sap the country's capacity to defend itself militarily. The reports may well be true. A reduction in the grazing available to the inhabitants of Rothwell in summer could have served to unbalance other aspects of their economy and forced a period of readjustment.

But it may also be shown that the case put to the duchy by the tenants deliberately obscured the identity of the complainants. The grievances that were designed to impress government and smear Darcy were above all those of yeomen. It was they who maintained ploughs and served the king in war. An examination of the occupations of those who threw down Darcy's fences (table two) reveals a more complicated situation. Rothwell and its surrounding villages were not simply agricultural communities, but were occupationally diverse with a large element of textile, leather and metal workers. Indeed what table two reveals is the nascent occupational structure of the eighteenth-century West Riding. The existence of two butchers and a baker in Rothwell is especially significant, for here we have a semi-industrial community in which a proportion, perhaps a majority of the population, were buying rather than growing their foodstuffs. Richard Pickering, Darcy's old agister, told the duchy that 60 new houses had been built in Rothwell and for good measure he added that it was here that most of Darcy's opponents dwelt.¹⁹

Rothwell was taking on a semi-urban appearance with a proliferation of rural artisans who maintained a rudimentary service sector.²⁰ The existence of these people separated from the soil explains Darcy's justification for his improvements in terms of the benefits they brought the town. One may detect a degree of circularity here; the industrial growth of Rothwell may well have provided the very preconditions which made plausible the conversion of the Haigh from woodland to arable. But if the arable in the park fed them, then it was these same people who took advantage of its existence to agist a single beast or to purchase their firewood there, or in the case of the tanners, to secure their bark. Indeed, one might speculate that it was the existence of the park which

16. SP1/237 fo. 182v (= *LP Add I* no. 783 (6), answer in *Darcy v Burton and others*).

17. *Ibid* fos. 215v, 216v (= *LP Add I* no. 783 (15)).

18. *LP Add I* no. 783 (11).

19. *LP Add I* no. 796 (1).

20. To this must be added the fact that a number of Rothwell tenants were also engaged in coal mining on their copyhold lands by 1546. DL3/47 R2b.

TABLE TWO
Rioters indicted at Pontefract by occupation.

	Ro.	Ou.	Ca.	Wo.	Rh.	Lo.	Other	Total
<i>Agricultural:</i>								
Gentlemen			3					3
Yeomen	1	1					1	3
Husbandmen	2	10	4	4	3	2		25
<i>Textile:</i>								
Clothiers	4				1			5
Websters	9		5	1		1	1	17
Tailors	6			1		1		8
Shermen	1	1	4				1	7
Cardmakers	1		1		2			4
Draper	2	1						3
Pointer		3						3
<i>Leather trades:</i>								
Tanners	6	1						7
Glovers	1	4	2		1		1	9
<i>Service:</i>								
Butchers	2							2
Millers		1		1				2
Bakers	1							1
<i>Miscellaneous trades:</i>								
Labourers	4	10	8		3	1		26
Wiredrawers		1	3		5			9
Smiths	1	1				2		4
Others ^a	4	2				1		7
Totals	45	36	30	7	15	8	4	145

Key to column heads; Ro., Rothwell; Ou., Oulton; Ca., Carlton; Wo., Woodlesford; Rh., Rodes; Lo, Lofthouse.

^a namely, basketmaker (1), carpenter (1), fletcher (1), minstrel (1), pinner (1), scholar (1), wheelwright (1).

Source, KB9/520 m.8 (indictment for riot at Rothwell Haigh, 3 May 1532).

Note to table two:

The occupational designations given in the indictment need to be treated with a degree of circumspection. Comparing the indictment with the lists of rioters attached to Darcy's bills, it is clear that some individuals were father's occupation in the indictment. For instance, the three gentlemen of Carlton are Henry Hunt, gent and his sons Robert and John. This is equally true with semi-industrial occupations. At Oulton the three pointers in table two are Gilbert Stocks and his sons who may well have worked with their father but whose designation may also be an arbitrary convenience. On the other hand, the fact that Gilbert Dobson of Oulton and his three sons James, George and Anthony appear in the indictment with occupations (respectively) of yeoman, husbandman, glover and 'scholar' suggests that the two elder sons were economically independent of the father. Yet Anthony Moor and Anthony Birkby, his servant, appear in the list as husbandman and labourer. Indeed, the labourer category appears to be a ragbag of individuals. John Salmon, labourer of Rothwell, appears in the duchy list as the servant of Robert Lucas, but his fellow servant in Lucas's employment, Lancelot Knolles, was called tanner by the indictment. Nor should labourers be thought of as being young, single men. William Feather, labourer of Oulton was a mature man with three sons, two of whom the indictment called smith and draper. Labourer, it might be suggested, marks a man who carried out menial tasks for another; but when the same tasks were carried out by someone resident with his employer, they took their employer's occupational designation in place of the all embracing title of labourer. Problems of occupational designation are marginal though to the larger implications of the overall occupational structure revealed in table two.

Only men were indicted, Grice specifically saying that neither women nor children would be indicted until Darcy's mind was known. (SP46, unlisted mss, letter of Grice to Darcy, 25 May [1532]).

determined the appearance and location of this colony of tradesmen and artisans.²¹

The crowd who threw down Darcy's fences and provided the hard edge of resistance to Darcy were not the people who the bills portrayed as being Darcy's protagonists. Their case was intended to portray Darcy as putting personal profit before public good whilst conferring on his opponents a gloss of respectability to which most could not aspire. The stress on the tenants' reduction to poverty and their inability to offer in the future their conventional military service was carefully tailored to the preoccupation of mid-tudor government. In the same way the opponents of fen drainage in seventeenth century Lincolnshire shifted their grounds to play on the political preoccupations of the time.²²

II

Thomas lord Darcy of Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam was a first generation peer, a professional soldier who acted as deputy and then warden of the Middle and East Marches against Scotland from 1498 to 1522. In 1511 he led a force of English troops to Cadiz to assist King Ferdinand of Spain in a war against the Moors. By a series of grants he became steward of the major estates of the duchy of Lancaster in Yorkshire and the locally pre-eminent figure. Aged in his mid-sixties at the time of his dispute with the Rothwell tenants, he was in his later years alienated first by Wolsey (in whose fall he had a hand) and then Thomas Cromwell. He may certainly be counted as a leading opponent of Henry VIII's policy of divorcing Katherine of Aragon. Darcy was either a leading conspirator in the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536 or its victim but however his role is assessed, he was attainted and executed in 1537.²³ It is true that in his politics Darcy was playing a losing hand by the time the tenants of Rothwell pulled down his fences, but in doing so they challenged the economic interests and reputation of an adversary who was both well connected and a political operator of some skill.

It is a letter of Darcy's steward, the Wakefield lawyer Thomas Grice, which offers the first evidence of the dispute.²⁴ Writing in October 1526, Grice reported that the tenants of Rothwell (in company of those of Oulton) had commenced suit against Darcy before the duke of Richmond's council at York. A crowd had evidently appeared at the lodging of their complaint, but the council ordered that only two of their number were to appear to prosecute their case in future. Darcy was given until the beginning of the next law term to put in his answer.²⁵

What happened next is unclear. None of the records of Richmond's council are extant and we hear no more of the tenant's complaints against Darcy until early 1529 when the tenants, led by Henry Hunt and others, had an interlocutory decree in the court of the duchy of Lancaster against Darcy. As Rothwell was a manor of the duchy and Rothwell Haigh an alienated part of its estates, the duchy may well have claimed a competence over the case and secured its removal from Richmond's council before the conclusion of the case. By the time of this first decree, pleadings were quite advanced. Darcy had made

21. The idea that 'proto-industrial' communities tended to spring up on commons and in areas with ready access to grazing has been developed by Joan Thirsk on several occasions, mostly notably in her essay 'Industries in the Countryside' in J. Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England* (1984). The association of artisans with the defence of common rights in a later period has been recently been stressed by Buchanan Sharp, *In contempt of all authority. Rural artisans and riot in the West of England, 1586-1660* (1980).

22. See the acute comments of C. Holmes, 'Drainers and Fenmen: the problem of popular political consciousness in the seventeenth century', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (1985) esp. pp. 168-71.

23. The most convenient discussion of Darcy's life is still the account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but I hope in time to supercede this with a new account. There is much of interest in Smith, *Land and Politics*.

24. For Grice see E. W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (1983) pp. 13-5.

25. *LP Add I* no. 491.

what was to become his usual claim that the tenants had no *right* of common in the park except by the permission of his agisters and that for this temporary licence the tenants paid a rent. He offered to prove this by bringing into court the books of agistment belonging to the records of the Honour of Pontefract and was instructed to do so. When he failed, a preliminary decree was made on the tenants' behalf granting them their right of agistment in the form they had exercised it before the king, grant to Darcy. This was to remain in force until Darcy presented such evidence as would disprove their claims. The following term, Trinity 1529, the chancellor and council of the duchy made a decree (with the assent of both parties) which, whilst a compromise, effectively accepted the tenants' right to grazing. Darcy, before Michaelmas 1529, was to lay out 200 acres of ground for the tenants' use as herbage in the customary fashion, the tenants paying the usual rents to Darcy. Moreover the court laid down that if the 200 acres proved to be insufficient, Darcy was to add more for their use.²⁶

Darcy honoured this order. When his original assignment was inspected by three commissioners appointed on behalf of the duchy court in October 1531, they found that Darcy had allotted land to the tenants which was neither the best nor the worst in the Park.²⁷ But when they arrived at Rothwell, the tenants showed the commissioners a book listing 71 persons who had the right to agist in the park and who claimed grazing for a total of 443 animals. Darcy's counsel in attendance – perhaps Grice – denied the validity of these claims. Nonplussed, the commissioners reserved any opinion as to whether these claims were justified but conceded that if they were, the 200 acre parcel allotted to the tenants was insufficient. Unable to come to a conclusion, they recommended that if the area devoted to the agistment of the tenants' cattle was to be increased, then it should be by the addition of a parcel called Fernlee which contained 119 acres. And to help the court in their deliberations, they had a plan drawn showing the closes within the park (Plate one). Both the copy of the plan returned to the duchy and Darcy's own copy survive; they are probably the oldest extant plans for any part of the West Riding.²⁸

On the tenants' petition, the court considered their claims in the winter of 1532. Again they bent to favour them. Where before they had conceded that the tenants had a right in the teeth of Darcy's denials, they ordered on this occasion that Fernlee should be divided, with 30 acres around the lodge fenced from the body of the close and kept in Darcy's hands whilst the remainder was assigned to the tenants. On this occasion though they denied the tenants any right of appeal. This, it seemed, was the final compromise. Darcy, in the presence of the commissioners and many of the tenants, had the partition of Fernlee marked out. The duchy's decrees, he had occasion to remark later that spring, had been prejudicial and hurtful to him but 'like a humble and obedient subject and servant to the king [he was] content and pleased to observe the same'.²⁹ In fact the tenants had gained grazing rights over a quarter or fifth of the park.³⁰ And that seemed to be the end of the matter.

But on 3 May 1532 a crowd of around 250 men (and women) from Rothwell and the adjoining villages assembled at Rothwell and broke into the park. The choice of this date is easily explained; it was the day from which the tenants (in their 'testimonial') claimed to have the right to graze in the park. There they cut down and uprooted Darcy's new

26. DL5/5 fos. 366r, 371, 376v (the last also being *LP Add I* no. 678). The point must be made that the acreage laid out, although it cannot be established with certainty, was considerably larger than 200 statute acres.

27. *LP Add I* no. 741 (= SP1/237 fo. 47r).

28. They are discussed in Appendix one below. Darcy also drew his own schematic map, SP1/237 fo. 148.

29. Quotation from Darcy's bill against Hunt, SP1/237 fo. 154 (= *LP Add I* no. 783 (1)).

30. A later source estimated the lands allotted at 4-500 acres and the area of the whole park at 2,000 acres; British Library, Add. Ms. 26,749 fos. 255v-256v.

hedges and threw them into their ditches. The banks on which the quicksets grew were then shovelled over the uprooted trees. They pulled up the pale of the little park and broke up the individual pales to make them unusable. In doing so they released Darcy's deer. Having wreaked this havoc, they drove their beasts and horses into the park. The tenants who had corn growing there attempted to save their crops by erecting makeshift fences, but on 5 May a group of rioters returned and threw these down. Their corn was subsequently eaten. Further damage was done on 7 May.³¹

On 19 June this destruction was properly surveyed. Six men testified that in all, some 575 acres 2 roods of fencing had been pulled down and destroyed. Taking the acres referred to to be linear measurements, each one four perches in length, and taking the perch to be 16½ feet, then the rioters pulled down more than seven miles of fencing. As this calculation piles uncertainty upon obscurity, it may be taken none too seriously. But a sizeable length of pale, fence and hedge is indicated and it is apparent that the park must have been a scene of considerable destruction.³²

Darcy counterattacked on several fronts. His agents were quickly active in identifying the perpetrators of the outrage. Within weeks Darcy was able to offer the duchy court a list of 250 rioters drawn from the villages of the parish and from amongst the tenants of Richard Grave and William Leigh of Middleton. Of the 250, 82 were identified as either wives or servants. The geographical origins of these individuals probably reflects the spread of those who considered themselves entitled to draw on the park. (Table One). On 25 May Darcy secured the indictment of a number of rioters at a special sessions held at Pontefract before a jury composed, the tenants alleged (and probably correctly), of Darcy's household servants. Moreover the tenants showed no contrition. Those of them who appeared at the Pontefract sessions confessed their role in pulling down the hedges and sought to justify their actions, but were told by the justices present (Babthorpe, Chaloner and Grice) that even if they had a right in the pasture, it was unlawful for them to gather in such numbers.³³

But Darcy also used the riot to revive his earlier litigation in the duchy. A new bill was submitted to the court (upon which the description of the riot offered above is largely based) to which was added a substantial list of those involved.³⁴ A delegation of tenants appeared and made their answer reciting along familiar lines their rights in the Haigh and how Darcy had curtailed them over the previous eight years by hedging and ditching. They admitted that they had entered the park with shovels and pickaxes and cast down Darcy's ditches but stressed that this was a lawful action.³⁵ To emphasise the justice of their case, they commenced a countersuit against Darcy.³⁶

Such arguments found little favour with the court. Faced with a forthright contempt of their earlier decrees, they imprisoned one of the Rothwell tenants (Gilbert Dobson) in the Fleet and sent orders for the attachment of four others who had travelled to Westminster but left for home without the court's licence. As regards the right of pasture, the court ordered that the tenants should only exercise those concessions decreed to them previously and should suffer Darcy to enclose the remainder of the park without interference. At the same time the court left open the possibility of amending

31. *LP Add I* no. 783 (1) (bill in *Darcy v Hunt* and others).

32. The detailed figures are pale (108ac), rails (30ac 2r) and hedge and dike (427ac). *LP Add I* no. 781 (i), 783 (13). The same use of acres to mean length appears in the 'Letters testimonial' where the tenants report they upheld 'a hundreth acres and a half' of park pale. Below app. 2. I am grateful to Professor P. D. A. Harvey for his advice on these measurements; he confirms that the use of acres in this way is highly unusual.

33. SP46, unlisted, letter of Grice to Darcy, 25 May 1532; *LP Add I* no. 782.

34. *LP Add I* no. 783 (1) (*Darcy v Hunt* and others).

35. *LP Add I* no. 783 (6).

36. *More, Dobson, Lucas and others v Darcy*, *LP Add I* no. 783 (11, 14, 15).

their earlier decrees by sending a commission into the field to inspect the tenants' grievances further.³⁷ Dobson and another tenant (Robert Burton) were bound in £40 each on 8 July to be of peaceable behaviour, pay any fines assessed on them and appear in duchy chamber on reasonable warning. They were then permitted to depart homewards.³⁸ In Rothwell itself Edmund Parker reported on 23 June that the men of Rothwell had continued to pull down fences and that Darcy's deer had strayed. Parker himself went in 'jeopardy of his life'.³⁹

On the legal front little happened in Michaelmas term. A number of tenants appeared whilst others made default and one was excused on the presentation of evidence of his ill health. Those who did were bound to uphold the previous decrees and the tenants were instructed to appoint six of their number who were to conduct all future business on their behalf. As the duchy's chancellor was unavoidably absent, all were allowed to leave until the beginning of the next term.⁴⁰

And so in the New Year the Rothwell tenants once more made their ways southwards to appear before the duchy court. Again the formalities of English bill procedure were gone through but on this occasion the court held, on the advice of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, justice of common pleas, that the tenants had no right to common in the park except for summer gist and then only at the sufferance of Darcy. The tenants, the court held, were to have no more in the park than had been conceded them by previous decrees; they were to submit themselves to Darcy and pay such fines as the court might assess on them.⁴¹

But the tenants again rioted. The details of this outrage are much less clear. On 18 April, on reports (doubtless brought to the notice of the court by Darcy) that another riot was brewing, three local gentlemen, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir Richard Tempest and Sir Robert Neville and two lawyers, the serjeant Thomas Fairfax and Robert Chaloner, were commissioned to go to Rothwell to identify those persons who were advocating a further assault on Darcy's fences and if necessary imprison them.⁴² It fell to Roger Thurgoland of Heckmondwike, the undersheriff of the wapentake of Agbrigg, to travel to Rothwell on Friday 25 April to warn the inhabitants to gather before the commissioners on 27 April. Passing Rothwell Haigh he saw a group of 120 or more women in the Haigh pulling down ditches and fences.⁴³ Moving onto Rothwell and returning on both Saturday and Sunday, Thurgoland was met with a sullen response. When the commissioners attended at Rothwell on Sunday, they were met by only a small number of the inhabitants. A group of 40 women appeared and confessed that they had pulled down the pale of the New Park and other hedges. They denied that they had been instructed to do so by any man. Some offered the opinion that they had done too little and that they hoped to do more. When the decree was read, the women answered that they knew it and would not keep it. The commissioners dare not proceed further for fear of violence against them and wrote for London for instructions.⁴⁴

The immediate result was that on 12 May, 16 Rothwell tenants (including William Leigh) appeared in the duchy and were committed to the Fleet. The following day the court ordered that all save four (of whom Leigh was one) should be released, bound in

37. DL5/6 fo. 10r-v. There is no evidence that this commission was put into effect.

38. E314/68 no. 15.

39. LP XII (ii) no. 186 (43).

40. DL5/6 fos. 17r, 22r. See LP XII (ii) no. 186 (54) for the appointment of six tenants as attornies for the tenants and inhabitants of Rothwell parish.

41. DL5/6 fos. 41-43v.

42. LP VI no. 355.

43. DL3/25 D1e, D1k. With d1l, these are all disjointed parts of the commissioners' report to the duchy. One witness refers to the deposition of Grice, but this cannot be found.

44. LP Add I no. 840.

£40 to be of good bearing to the king until 1 November and pay such fines as were assessed on them. Five agreed to be bound; the others were returned to the Fleet. The following term the decrees were again restated. The defendants were ordered to restrain any of their neighbours who were moved to wreck Darcy's pales again or, if they were unable to do so, they were to alert the nearest justices. Leigh was bound in £200 to remove his cattle from the park (except the closes assigned for their pasture); he was finally ordered to pay Darcy £40 towards his costs.⁴⁵ And there the involvement of the courts in Darcy and the Rothwell tenants appears to end.⁴⁶

III

At one level the dispute is ordinary enough. Historians increasingly recognise that rural communities, when faced with improving landlords who were attempting to curtail customary patterns of land use and substitute in their place more intensive forms of exploitation, could prove to be resilient and tenacious opponents. As in this instance, tenant communities had full access to the courts and the counsel they required to pursue a case. They had the means to fund their litigation. And, what is more, the courts took their grievances seriously.

It should therefore not be thought that Darcy embarked upon litigation with the tenants assuming that victory would come easily or cheaply. Darcy's case was that the tenants had no customary rights in the park. The agistment they had exercised, he argued, had been offered by him (and before Darcy the king's officers) to who ever wanted it, whether from within the parish or without, for whatever sums could be agreed upon between the agister and the grazier. While this argument was put to the duchy as early as 1529 by Darcy, it appears that at this moment he accepted the compromise of allowing the tenants the use of specified parcels without his claims being examined.⁴⁷ When it was restated after the first riot, the court sought the opinion of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert and other judges who were adamant that the rights of the tenants were indeed limited in law to summer gist in the Haigh at Darcy's sufferance, but the court still proceeded to confirm its earlier decree.⁴⁸ Darcy was faced not only by the claims of the tenants, but also by the instinct of the duchy court to secure a compromise acceptable to both parties.

Our knowledge of Darcy's strategy against the tenants comes largely from the handful of surviving letters written to him by his steward and agent Thomas Grice. Grice's first service to Darcy was to write – apparently frequently – giving news of events in and around Rothwell. He warned Darcy of the appearance of the tenants before Richmond's council in 1526; to give but two further instances, he wrote to report the tenants' indictment in 1532 and the commissioners' meeting with the tenants at Rothwell on 27 April 1533.⁴⁹ It was Grice who sat on the sessions which indicted the rioters, having earlier written to explain to Darcy why it had not been possible to indict at an earlier special sessions called to deal with other rioters.⁵⁰ He did not however, serve on the commissions of enquiry sent down from the duchy. That may have been regarded as improper, but Grice might also have been deemed more useful appearing before them to offer evidence on Darcy's behalf, as he did in April 1533 when he presented the commissioners with a bill implicating Leigh in the movement. On this occasion Grice

45. DL5/6 fos. 50, 57, 60, 121r.

46. In a draft letter dated only 12 December (but which appears to be of 1533), Darcy asked the neighbouring JPs, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir Richard Tempest and Sir Robert Neville to support his farmers in the face of renewed talk of attacking his improvements in the Haigh. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (53).

47. DL5/5 fo. 366r.

48. DL5/6 fo. 41ff.

49. *LP Add I* no. 491; SP46, unlisted, letter of Grice to Darcy, 25 May 1532; *LP Add I* no. 841.

50. *LP Add I* no. 782; SP46, unlisted, letter of Grice to Darcy, 25 May 1532.

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Photo; Public Record Office.

transcription of the names and titles on the map, see p. 99 below).

secured a copy of the commissioners' certificate and dispatched it to London with a letter detailing their dealings with the tenants.⁵¹

Grice though was not simply Darcy's legman. He offered Darcy advice on tactics and comes through from the letters as a man with his own clear views and opinions. From the beginning he was convinced that 'his cousin Leigh' lay at the root of the matter and worked hard to accumulate evidence against him, telling Darcy that all or most of Leigh's tenants had been at the riot and sending Darcy a list of the tenants in whose names the bill against Darcy was moved with Leigh's tenants identified.⁵² Writing in June 1532 Grice recommended that Darcy seek a commission to investigate Leigh's title to his lands in Rothwell. This should also, Grice suggested, take evidence as to who had imparked or enclosed land within the parish or had converted arable to pasture, all points on which Grice thought Leigh vulnerable. Darcy, perhaps fearing the double-edged quality of this recommendation, marked it 'thought not convenient' and the suggestion was never pursued.⁵³

In the proceedings against the tenants, Grice was also a hawk, enunciating the principle (at moments when Darcy seemed to be backsliding) that the tenants should be punished severely as an example to others. After the first Rothwell riot, Grice turned the tenants' claims into an issue of the nature of legal evidence of some general applicability.⁵⁴

If it be not reformed after some due order, it shall be such a precedent in the country that the king's officers and farmers shall lightly be regarded to do anything for the king's profit and advantage in any of his lordships in these parts, but that it is their common profit to claim it for their custom without either precedent in writing or record showing for the same but only their own words which is and hath been always contrary to the truth and not of right as far as ever I could see.

Writing immediately after the tenants' indictment, he argued that 'their punishment is most necessary for [an] example for of truth both diverse and many other light demeanors are likely to follow in the country if this be no[t] substantially and discreetly looked upon at this time'.⁵⁵ On 2 April 1533 he urged Darcy to proceed with the punishing 'of them that pulled down the pale and that beareth away your hedges in Rothwell Haigh or else your lordship will have little standing left there'.⁵⁶ After the sullen response to commissioners at Rothwell in April 1533, Grice urged their imprisonment at Pontefract, York, Knaresborough and Sandal Castles 'for that punishment in the county would more stay the people of the country than 20 times so much punishment shall do if they be committed to ward [imprisoned] above'. But he knew how to temper this; in the same letter he advised winning over some of the poorer tenants through the charity of 'helping their indictments'.⁵⁷ Grice always took a lawyer's approach to the matters of law and order. The dispute at Rothwell was not simply about Rothwell, but about the right of property owners to improve and profit from their lands. In his eagerness to make an example of the tenants, Grice seems to have run ahead of Darcy.

Grice clearly recognised the way in which success depended on smoothing justice by seeking (and paying) for favour. The partiality of the sheriff in summoning sympathetic juries needed to be bought and indeed, was secured. Grice admitted to Darcy that 'the

51. *LP Add I* nos. 840, 841.

52. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (41).

53. *LP Add I* no. 782.

54. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (42).

55. SP46, unlisted, letter of Grice to Darcy, 25 May 1532.

56. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (41). It is not clear whether standing means reputation or refers to hedges and pales.

57. *LP Add I* no. 841.

The names and captions on the map read as follows, from the south-east (upper left) corner clockwise; 'A close called Estend cont' by estimacion lxxij acrez'; 'Hagston Cliff cont' by est' lxx acrez'; 'The Outegrounde cont' by mesure vj^{xx}xij acrez. This close is assigned by the lorde Darcy to the kinges tenantes for herbage and giest of ther catell.'; (the roughly oval close), 'The Olde Launde cont' by estimacion iiij^{xx} acrez devided in v closez and always kept severall as the tenantes do confesse.'; (below the Old Laund) 'Fernele cont' by measure v^{xx}xix acrez'; (to the west of the High Lodge) 'This parcell to conteyn xxx acrez & to lye to the lodge'; (to the north of High Lodge) 'and this parcell to be more assigned to the tenantes for ther herbage'; (close in south-west corner) 'The Hope cont' by estimacion xxx acrez'; 'Carleton Woode cont' by mesure iiij^{xx}vij acrez. This close is assigned by the lorde Darcy to the kinges tenantes for herbage or joyste for ther catell'; (close in north-west corner) 'Middelton Woode dyvided in to ij closez cont' by est' xl acrez which is parcell of Carleton Wode aforesaid as the tenantes sey'. Under the pale of the New Park is 'The Newe Park dyvided in iiij closez' which reading from east to west are 'The Ruelez cont' by est' xxx acrez and ever kept severall as the kinges tenantes do confesse'; 'Newlaunde cont' by est' xxx acrez'; 'Humflete [sic] Carre cont' by estimacion iiij^{xx} acrez'. Finally in the south-east corner 'Dounoklowe cont' by est xl acrez'.

common people of the country favour them of Rothwell so much that it would be hard to get them indicted at the suit of your tenants without the special favour of the sheriff in the return of the panel'. Grice's analysis may lend credence to the tenant's allegations that they were indicted by a jury of Darcy's tenants and household servants.⁵⁸ Robert Chaloner's clerks needed some reward; the chancellor of the duchy (Sir William Fitzwilliam) and Mr. Thomas Audley (the duchy's attorney-general until 1531, then successively lord keeper and lord chancellor) deserved gratuities to ease Darcy's case.⁵⁹ Grice was distrustful of the strength of Darcy's support at the centre;⁶⁰

Albeit I pray God such persons that your lordship trusts above which be in high authority be as good to your lordship as ye think they be. For then your lordship cannot do of mine. Albeit it is thought in the country the contrary, but who they be I know not. Wherefore I think it is needful and necessary for your lordship for to be present in your own person when the matter shall be examined or else that your lordship go to the king's grace beseeching his grace you may without his grace's displeasure have and sue for your needful remedy against the aforesaid tenants by the due course of his common law.

Leigh's incitement of his tenants could only be understood in terms his confidence of favour at the centre; 'they trust of a good abearing above, of whom I know not'.⁶¹

If Grice was obviously Darcy's agent in these matters, it is far from certain that Robert Chaloner could be said to be in Darcy's pocket. Chaloner, a second generation common lawyer of Stanley near Wakefield was a much more substantial figure. He had been a member of the king's council in the North since 1530 and acted as counsel to (amongst others) the earl of Cumberland.⁶² Chaloner was intimately involved in the prosecution of the tenants and the settlement of the dispute, but always at arm's length from Darcy. With the lawyer William Babthorpe and Thomas Grice, he conducted the sessions which indicted the tenants and served as a commissioner for the duchy in October 1531 and April 1533.⁶³ One of the few letters of Darcy's which bears on the dispute appears to be addressed to Chaloner. With this letter Darcy enclosed the commission issued in

58. *LP Add I* nos. 782, 841, the quotation from the former, the tenant's allegations from *ibid* nos. 783 (6), (15).

59. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (41). Audley was in receipt of a fee from Darcy in 1530; SP46, unlisted papers, receipt of 9 November 1530.

60. *LP Add I* no. 782. Darcy's political position in 1532-3 is obscure, but it may be assumed that he was known to be opposed to the divorce and for that reason isolated from royal favour. Grice may be referring to his alienation from the court over this.

61. *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (42).

62. For Chaloner see Smith, *Land and Politics* p. 147 and G. D. Lumb (ed.), 'Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-61', *Proc. Thoresby Soc.* 27 (1930) pp. 37-40.

63. KB9/520 m. 8, 10; *LP Add I* no. 741, 840.

the summer of 1531 to gauge the adequacy of the closes assigned to the tenants in the park, explaining that the tenants had nominated Sir William Malleverer for their commissioner and Chaloner for Darcy's. Expressing confidence in his case, Darcy asked that the commissioners should 'do me right without favour', but then expected Chaloner and Grice to meet with Parker and Pickering (the present and past keepers of the Haigh) to prepare evidence against the tenants.⁶⁴ It would be interesting to know whether Chaloner vindicated Darcy's faith in him.

To modern eyes, Darcy exercised an unreasonable and improper influence over the magistrates of the area. In some matters, for instance their indictment at Quarter Sessions, Darcy's association with the bench may at first sight be thought to have given him an unfair advantage. This is perhaps not so. It is hard to deny the validity of the argument made to the tenants by the justices that whatever their rights in the pasture, 'it was not lawful for them to make any such great insurrection and unlawful assembly with such multitude of people'.⁶⁵ The justices were bound to indict and Darcy's familiarity with the local justices did not prevent the tenants fighting a case through the courts which obtained for them something at least of what they demanded.

Understanding the organization of the tenants' opposition to Darcy is considerably more difficult than analysing Darcy's response. The tenants have left no evidence from their own hands behind them; as much as Darcy and Grice, we are bystanders looking upon events we can see only imperfectly. We know, to give but one instance, nothing about who gave the tenants their legal advice or acted for them in the courts.⁶⁶ The size of the riots shows plainly enough that the tenants' campaign was able to mobilise large numbers of people. Grice, as we saw, acknowledged the tenants' popularity when he foresaw problems getting them indicted. Whilst Edmund Parker reported in June 1532 that the Rothwell men had sold their church goods in order to finance their litigation against Darcy, they also collected money in churches over a wide area around Rothwell (Leeds, Birstall, Methley, Kippax, Castleford, Swillington and Elland being specifically mentioned) and attempted to inculcate a collective solidarity. They 'desired their [donors'] charity...as they might do for them hereafter in like case...'.⁶⁷

It would be quite wrong to see the tenants as a leaderless and unorganised rabble. It is hard to be certain who spoke on the tenants' behalf before the first Rothwell riots of May 1532, but from that time it is possible to identify the tenants' spokesmen. Darcy's bill against the rioters fired grapeshot at a much larger group, numbering 23 and during Trinity term 1532 he was active in securing privy seals against a whole range of individuals, but out of this undifferentiated mass emerged the group of six men, Henry Hunt of Carleton, gent, Robert Lucas of Rothwell, tanner, Robert Burton of Waterhay in Rothwell, yeo, Anthony More of Oulton, husbandman, Gilbert Dobson of Oulton, yeo, and Gilbert Stokes of Oulton, pointer, who acted on behalf of the Rothwell tenants in the following year.⁶⁸ This group answered Darcy's bill against the tenants and all save Hunt commenced a countersuit against Darcy in Trinity term. When in Michaelmas term the court asked that the tenants formally appoint six representatives to appear before them, it was this same group who secured a letter of attorney empowering them

64. *LP Add I* no. 749. The letter is an draft probably dating from Trinity Term 1531. It is unaddressed although given the membership of the commission it is almost certainly directed to Chaloner.

65. Reported by Grice, *LP Add I* no. 782.

66. Pickering, in his list of trespasses in the Haigh, referred to Sir William Green 'which is of their secret counsel with Mokeson and Lucas and other of them and maketh their writings'. Green disappears from sight and is not mentioned again. SP46 unlisted, memorandum of intrusions in the park by Richard Pickering. Green was 'parochial chaplain' of Rothwell in 1526, a reference from Purvis's 'Tudor Crockford' which I owe to the kindness of Dr. D. M. Smith.

67. *LP XII* (ii) no. 43, *Add I* no. 842.

68. Occupational designations are taken from the indictment. A pointer made the points or laces for shoes.

to speak on their fellows' behalf.⁶⁹ Their names are generally placed prominently amongst the signatories to the testimonial to the king's council. A few clues suggest that some of them were leading agitators before the riot. The earlier pleadings in the duchy had been conducted in Hunt's name. Even before then Anthony More, Robert Lucas and Gilbert Dobson had been singled out by Pickering as trespassers in the Haigh. Grice had his eyes on Dobson and Lucas (whose indictments he specifically mentions); some of their names are placed prominently in the indictments.

How these individuals emerged to positions of leadership is impossible to say. The 1524 lay subsidy makes it fairly certain that four of the six men were amongst the wealthiest in the township. The returns for Rothwell with Carlton and Lofthouse (which included Oulton and Woodlesford) list only 27 taxpayers. It includes no payment on 20s of goods, the minimum assessment, and is clearly, like other returns of this date, a travesty of the true situation. Nonetheless it reveals Hunt as a gentleman of more than local importance, with lands worth £13 6s 8d.⁷⁰ More was assessed on lands worth 25s. Dobson had goods worth £10 and Lucas, the tanner, goods worth £10. Hunt, Dobson and More had also contributed to the loan of 1523.⁷¹ We have no information concerning Burton although he was called a yeoman, nor Stocks the pointer who it is hard to see as being of real substance. On the other hand he may well have represented the point of view of the landless craftsmen of the district.

The very limited evidence we have suggests that within the six it was Anthony More, who had sent his daughter and servant to cut holly on Christmas day 1525, who was the prime agitator. It was More who had in his hands the money raised by the tenants to prosecute their case, but the clearest evidence of his role comes from a somewhat confused letter written to Darcy by Peter Mirfield in January 1533.⁷²

I am informed by credible witnesses amongst my neighbours of Rothwell that they are minded [that] two or four of them for the whole body of the parish, which one of them is principal, Anthony More, my lord this is truth, that Anthony More hath called the honest of the parish before him after this manner and taken them hard upon the same, that if he speed not now at his coming up that all shall be cast open. That then they are commanded together by their oath that all their wives and children to go [and] pull down ditch, hedge and pale and the said Anthony More with the whole body of the parish, man and child, to go with them to rescue the said women...

This was an accurate assessment of what was to happen later in the year, but for all More's bold talk in January, it seems that he and his colleagues lost control of their followers and were discredited amongst them by May. On their empty-handed return to Rothwell they were the subject of considerable hostility. Grice, writing on 1 May 1533 after the second riot, reported that Gilbert Wood of Royds and one Ellis, 'both busy fellows' were 'very against Robert Burton and *manys*hed him over after his coming home'.⁷³ Burton himself deposed that after he came home from London with the duchy's final decree, 'the most part of the inhabitants of Rothwell both men and women [said to him] that he and his fellows had sold their right in Rothwell and that they would not abide the decree'.⁷⁴ Before the riot of late April More and Dobson were threatened that

69. LP XII (ii) no. 186 (54).

70. E179/207/130 m.1d. For the unreliability of other returns of this period, see my forthcoming paper on the subject. Hunt's substance is confirmed by the grant of arms conferred on his son in 1544, G. D. Lumb, 'Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553', *Proc. Thoresby Soc.* 19 (1913).

71. For the 1523 loan, E315/64 fos. 3v-4r.

72. LP Add I no. 842, the quotation from LP XII (ii) no. 186 (55). Mirfield was a gentleman of Tong, (DL3/35 P3e) and was the tenant of parcels in the park. He was amongst those who surveyed the damage done to the park by the rioters on 19 June 1532. LP Add I no. 781 (1).

73. LP Add I no. 841.

74. DL3/25 D11.

if they did not attend, 'they would be drawn thither'.⁷⁵ Having lost their authority and being under order of the duchy to restrain their neighbours from further rioting, More and Dobson met with Grice on 23 April and gave him information concerning Leigh's complicity in the agitation.⁷⁶ We know little of the rioters of 1533, but the names we have do not include those of the six. That said, More and his fellows were called to London in Easter term and imprisoned (at least temporarily) in the Fleet.⁷⁷

Amongst the sixteen Rothwell men who appeared in the duchy court in mid-May to answer allegations of riot was William Leigh. The others were an occupationally diverse group, two yeomen, four husbandmen and eight craftsmen of various kinds (with one unidentified).⁷⁸ The court's interest was held not by this small-fry, but by Leigh himself, and it was not until the autumn of 1534 that the case against him was finally closed.

Leigh was of Middleton, to the west of Rothwell and now a part of the southern suburbs of Leeds. He was a figure of some substance, assessed at £26 13s 4d in the subsidy of 1524.⁷⁹ He owned not only the manor of Middleton, but also lands in Rothwell parish at Lofthouse, Carlton, Royds and elsewhere. The very full inventory taken after his attainder and execution for his involvement in the Yorkshire plot against Henry VIII in 1541 reveals that he had houses at Middleton, Rothwell Hall and Royds Hall.⁸⁰ As a Rothwell landowner, he had an interest in maintaining access to the park for his tenants. Quite rightly his name appears as one of those who authorised the six to plead in the duchy court on their behalf. Throughout the months after the first Rothwell riot, there was the assumption in Darcy's camp (shared by individuals as different as Grice and Parker) that Leigh lay behind the agitation.⁸¹ We might therefore ask what evidence was gathered against him and whether he, rather than a relatively minor figure like More, is not a more plausible leader of the tenants.

Despite their suspicions and evident endeavours, evidence against Leigh was slow to accumulate. It was known from the beginning that his tenants were prominent amongst the rioters, but all those whose names came to Darcy's notice were drawn from Rothwell and none from Middleton. When the commissioners came to Rothwell in April 1533, Grice was able to present them with allegations (from Dobson and More) that Leigh had lent them 5 marks towards their costs in London, the repayment of which he had demanded on their return, but this was no more than we would expect. It was also claimed (although on what evidence is unclear) that he had counselled More, Dobson and the others to complain against Darcy.⁸² Much more telling was Grice's discovery that Leigh's wife had called the women of Rothwell to see her at Middleton on 23 April. If Grice was right, then it is difficult not to read this as an attempt to incite the women to attack Darcy's fences, which they did later in the week (although More was proposing

75. *LP Add I* no. 842.

76. *Ibid* nos. 841, 842.

77. *DL5/6* fo. 57.

78. *Ibid* fos. 50, 57, 60. Three of the accused can be identified as Leigh's tenants (using as evidence the list of tenants active in the first riot, *SP1/237* fos. 158-161). I can find no indictment resulting from this disturbance.

79. *E179/207/130*. His mother had £10 in lands. No one else in Middleton contributed.

80. For the 'plot', see A. G. Dickens, 'Sedition and Conspiracy in Yorkshire during the later years of Henry VIII', *Yorkshire Archaeological J.* 34 (1939). *E315/171* fos. 1r, 11r-12v. For Rothwell Hall see M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an archaeological survey to AD 1500* (3 vols., 1981), II p. 488, III plate Xa.

81. For Grice's suspicions, see p. 98 above. For Parker's prejudice, see his letter of June 1532 ('I go in jeopardy of my life and if I have any harm I will put wholly the blame in Mr. William Lee *if it would stand with your lordship pleasure*' (the section in my italics ambiguous), *LP XII* (ii) no. 186 (43); and his evidence that 'William a Lee was he that have the most comfort to the tenants to do the said act or else they would never have done it'. (It is not clear to which riot he refers). *DL3/25 D1d*.

82. *LP Add I* no. 842; *DL3/81 R18m*.

the same some weeks earlier). Moreover, Grice heard that one of Leigh's tenants had been at the riot itself, dressed in women's clothing.

Yet the evidence to connect Leigh with the tenant agitation was finally weak and seems to not to have persuaded the court. Leigh had a period in the Fleet in the Summer of 1533, but was released after he was bound in £200 to remove his cattle from the park (except for those closes in which the tenants were permitted to graze), to obey the decrees and to ensure that his servants and tenants did nothing to transgress the decrees. He was also to pay a fine to be assessed on him by the court.⁸⁴

Subsequent events suggest that Darcy might have had an ulterior motive for pursuing Leigh. At some point, probably in the spring of 1534, he petitioned the court complaining that Leigh had broken his obligation by hunting in the Outwoods of Middleton, from where one of Leigh's servants had followed a hind into Rothwell Haigh. Darcy went on to claim that the duchy court had accepted that Leigh, 'forasmuch as the said William was the chief doer and procurer of all the injuries and wrongs done to the said lord', should compensate Darcy 'for such offences as were duly proved before them [the chancellor and council] and also such costs as Darcy has sustained about the suit thereof'. Darcy then itemised his costs, £200 for pulling down fences in 1533, £133 6s 8d for the damage caused in the second riot, £240 for three years' loss of rent and £260 for Darcy's legal charges, in all £833 6s 8d.⁸⁵ Leigh strenuously refuted the twin charges of hunting Darcy's deer and organising the Rothwell tenants. He also denied that he was compelled by the court to pay Darcy damages. In the end he did, but a mere £40.⁸⁶

Darcy may well have seen bankrupting Leigh as a means by which to recoup some of his losses in the dispute. His failure to obtain any significant restitution from his neighbour may indicate that the court found Darcy's evidence of Leigh's complicity somewhat tendentious. It is indeed thin. At one point – the meeting at Middleton on St. George's day – Leigh, or his wife, became incautiously embroiled in the tenant's affairs. But we might ask whether the identification of Leigh as 'chief doer and procurer' arises not from any hard evidence or even reasonable suspicion on the part of the part of Grice and Darcy so much as an ingrained assumption (which historians need not share) that the tenants were incapable of mobilising without the leadership of their social superiors. Grice, as we saw, assumed that the tenants could not be acting without the support and direction of Leigh and that Leigh in turn could not be conceived as chancing himself without the promise of support from above. Grice posits a society in which each part moves with the favour and sanction of that higher; we might argue that he failed to understand the behaviour of the Rothwell tenants precisely because they were outside that cast of mind.

IV

At the end of it all, what had the tenants gained? Before the riots their case had been heard sympathetically by the duchy and Darcy had conceded a sizeable allotment, later increased, for the tenants' use within the park. It was, of course, half a loaf and fell far short of their claims. But it was granted to the tenants despite the weakness of their case; they had no legally secure rights in Rothwell Haigh and the concessions that the court made were, in effect, devices to maintain social peace at Darcy's expense. To this point the tenants had played an effective and not unsuccessful game. It is clear enough, and becomes more so after their failure to enlarge their rights in early 1533, that a large

83. *LP Add I* no. 841.

84. *DL5/6* fo. 121r.

85. *DL3/81 R18c*, another copy in the *SP46* unlisted materials.

86. *DL3/81 R18e*; *DL5/6* fos. 121r, 129v.

element among the inhabitants were unsatisfied with the court's carefully engineered compromise and were prepared to go down the road of violently attacking Darcy's fences. The symbolism and doubtless enjoyment of such acts probably brought enormous satisfaction to the rioters. And, the first riot, whether planned with the intention of forcing the question of access to the park back onto the duchy court's agenda or not, certainly served to do so. But that was all it could do. The court having been generous to the tenants once, and having then revised its earlier decree in the tenants' favour could not be seen to be making concessions to the tenants a third time. The last riot was, from the point of view of the tenants, doomed to failure; it was simply a silly and ill-conceived contempt of the court. We might also see it as a desperate move by a community some of whom, whilst never ceasing to believe in the merits of their case, could no longer see any justice in the court's actions.

Events at Rothwell are but an early illustration of the tensions and conflicts over the use of communal resources which were to become commonplace in the English countryside during the next century. It has many common features with later disputes. Tenants were able to mobilise themselves and raise the finance to conduct litigation before the courts, but also at moments of frustration tended to overthrow hedges and fences. In these acts of violence artisans were particularly prominent, but until the final stages of the movement leadership seems to have rested with a richer group within society. This compares with the view of Buchanan Sharpe that the leadership of the rioters in the Forest of Dean a century and more later rested with the artisans themselves.⁸⁷ At Rothwell we have an early example of the use of women and children to throw down hedges in the belief that they would be more leniently treated by the law.⁸⁸ The courts themselves showed an anxiety to compromise and allow the tenants some access to pasture and in doing so disadvantaged the landlord.

The conclusion of the disputes was but a stage in the history and the development of the landscape of the park. Within half a century the inhabitants of the parish were falling out amongst themselves over the rights of the inhabitants of Lofthouse to graze in the Haigh. By 1662, Sir John Saville had enclosed much of the land allotted to the tenants in 1532 and counsel's opinion was sought about the ways in which he could be restrained and the enclosures undone. There was a further move to enclose in 1687 when the duchy court was asked to vary its decrees.⁸⁹ In fact a considerable area remained open and grazed until the enclosure of 1785 but in the late seventeenth century it was described as rough scrubland and so overstocked that the animals on it had to be fed hay.⁹⁰ The name Rothwell Haigh ceased to apply to the park but became the name of the hamlet which sprang up within its pale. Darcy's dispute with the Rothwell tenants was not the end of the matter of the Haigh, but the beginning of a long road down which many other lords and tenants were bound to travel.

87. Sharp, *In contempt of all authority*, *passim*.

88. Cf. R. A. Houlbrooke, 'Women's social life and common action in England from the fifteenth century to the civil war', *Continuity and Change* I (1986) which considers the role of women in riots.

89. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, Ms. 508 fos. 73-83v (and also fo. 88v for an agreement of 1624 to prosecute outsiders using the Haigh); British Library, Add. Ms. 26,749 (legal collections by John Hopkinson) fos. 255v-256v; DL1/445, 446 (pleadings in *Thomas lord Howard and Mary his wife v John Grosvenor and others*, 1687-8, copies of which may be found in Sheffield City Library, Arundel Castle Mss., SD 883.

90. Answer in *Howard v Grosvenor*, DL1/446.

APPENDIX ONE

The bounds of Rothwell Haigh: a speculation.

So far this paper has evaded the problem of locating Rothwell Haigh in the landscape. In trying to do this, the historian is placed at several disadvantages. The early date at which the Haigh was disparked has served to erase the Haigh as a relic feature. The course of the park pale cannot be detected as an obvious field line on the first edition 6" Ordnance Survey map and the semi-urban character of the area means that the possibilities for fieldwork are slight. The placename evidence is not helpful. 'Haigh' came to be attached to houses, farms and collieries scattered over a wide area as well as to the hamlet. The internal fieldnames of the Haigh used in the sixteenth century have not survived in use except in two cases.¹ The chief exception is Hope's Farm (SE 322282) which carries into the twentieth century the medieval name Hope, known from 1270 onwards and the location of a carpentry workshop in the mid-fourteenth century.²

Other types of evidence offer greater possibilities. As Mr. Michelmores showed some years ago, Rothwell Haigh had the status of a separate township in the early nineteenth century and its boundaries can be recovered from the first edition six-inch map.³ The presumption can be made that these boundaries represent the late medieval bounds of the park. This is not quite the case; lands from within the territory of the Haigh were assigned to the townships which claimed rights of common. The result was when lands within the Haigh were assigned to Rothwell, the boundary of the Haigh (which defined the boundary of the Haigh and Rothwell) was lost. In an ideal world the area of the common existing on enclosure in 1783-5 would represent the closes assigned to the tenants but as we saw, the common was nibbled away during the seventeenth century and only the residue (542 acres) was enclosed by statute. The area which remained can easily be established: it formed a thin strip north of Rothwell township which swung south towards Robin Hood at its western end.⁴ The complicated pattern of intermingled landholding described by Michelmores dates only from this enclosure. All these elements are less than helpful. And so too is the map of the Haigh made in 1531.

This map survives in two identical copies in the PRO. One has come down to us in the records of the duchy of Lancaster and is therefore the copy the commissioners returned to Westminster; the other appears to have been removed from Darcy's papers and is archivally to be associated with the other papers in the case, now in the State Papers.⁵ Both maps are on paper (and now backed); they measure approximately 1' 11" by 1' 4". It might be noted that they are drawn back to front, south being at the top, west to the right. They are not surveyed maps but are one of a number of rather crude and schematic maps made in legal cases for the duchy of Lancaster in the reign of Henry VIII.⁶ These maps were not intended to show distances but relationships. As it happens this map gives a wholly misleading impression of the shape of the park. The north-south axis is overextended. The Haigh was actually long and thin, about 3 miles east-west and a mile north-south.

The map shows only one topographical feature. This is the course of the river Aire, drawn as two parallel lines along the bottom of the map. No attempt was made to represent the meanders in the river, but the map confirms other evidence that the park pale stopped some distance short of the river. The location of neighbouring villages is shown by their names only. This roughly locates the Haigh as running from west of Woodlesford, north of Oulton, Rothwell and Carleton and perhaps Lofthouse. The northwestern corner of the map is marked as Leeds. The park pale is indicated by schematic fencing. Four gates are shown on the south side, from east to west, 'Carleton Yate', 'Rothwell Yate', 'Oldeton [Oulton] Yate' and in the south-east corner a blocked gate labelled as 'an olde yate and new shett up'. On the northern side of the Haigh, the only gate is 'Humflete [sic] Yate'. Within the park the New Park is shown with its own pale and divided into three closes, 'the Ruelez', 'New Laund' and 'Humflete Carre'. Placed in the middle of the map is a rough drawing of the High Lodge.

On two sides the bounds of the Haigh can be tolerably well established. Other evidence confirms that the Haigh stopped short of the river. The first edition six-inch map shows a thin line of land immediately to the south of the Aire which was a detached part of Rothwell township; this thickened out in the north-west corner

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1. Based on a collation with A. H. Smith, *The Placenames of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, II (English Place-name Soc., 31, 1961) pp. 143-8.
 2. *ex inf* Mr. Moorhouse. Hopefield Farm at 337281 does not appear on the first edition 6" survey.
 3. D. J. H. Michelmores, 'The reconstruction of early tenurial and territorial divisions in the landscape of Northern England', *Landscape History* I (1979) fig. 4 (p. 6).
 4. The extent of the common can be established from the enclosure award.
 5. MPC 30 (formerly DL31/30) and MPC 249 (formerly SC12/4/22). The plate is taken from the latter which is in better condition.
 6. For another example, E. M. Yates, 'Map of Over Haddon and Meadowplace near Bakewell, Derbyshire, c. 1528', *Agricultural History Review* XII (1964); idem, 'Map of Ashbourne, Derbyshire' [1547], *Geographical Journal* CXXVI (1960) pp. 479-81.

of the parish to a block of land immediately south of Thwaite mills.⁷ Mr. Michelmores has suggested that the purpose of this strip of land was to offer a routeway to the north of the park.⁸ The eastern boundary of the Haigh passed close to Woodlesford village where a ditch and internal bank on the line of the Rothwell Haigh-Woodlesford boundary were recorded by Mr. Moorhouse before destruction. Whether the pale crossed the modern Church Street in Woodlesford is uncertain. The first edition six-inch plan shows the boundary of Rothwell Haigh township running on the north side of the road, but it is surely more likely that the park pale continued south towards Oulton before turning west. The course of the boundary is then unclear, but it cannot have lain more than a few hundred yards north of Oulton village and probably much nearer to Rothwell church and the late medieval manor house site immediately to the west of the church. A note by Darcy refers to land in the park 'adjoynyng to the steill for agaynst the church of Rothwell'.⁹ The south-western corner of the park presumably lay south-west of Hope's Farm and followed the boundary of Haigh township marked as running along the eastern side of Sharp Lane and Clapgate Lane on the first edition survey.

On the western side and in the north-western corner the evidence is very difficult and is confused by the fact that the sixteenth-century map shows parcels called Middleton Wood and Humflett Carr. The temptation is to draw a simple equation between the parcels on the map and the places called by these names today. This must be resisted. The latter lie outside the township of Rothwell Haigh. It is possible that lands in the western end of the Haigh were allotted to Middleton and Hunslet in compensation for agistment in the way that lands were given to the hamlets within Rothwell; but there is no evidence that either Middleton or Hunslet claimed such rights. Instead, it may be suggested that the western boundary of the Haigh followed the boundary between Rothwell township and Middleton which in time became the Rothwell Haigh-Middleton boundary. The boundary shown on the first edition map though is pretty sinuous and not the smooth, curving boundary that one might expect or which is shown on the 1531 plan.¹⁰ Whether the Haigh extended as far as Stourton, stopping just short of the river Aire in its north-western corner, must remain a matter for speculation.

Rather than equating the close called Hunslet Carr on the 1531 map with the later settlement of that name south of Leeds, a more plausible connection can be made between the close and the farm called Carr Lane which stood by the Leeds-Wakefield turnpike in 1847. The 1537 rental drops the Hunslet and calls the close simply Carr. Edmund Parker was its tenant in 1537; when he died in 1557 he bequeathed his leasehold interest in the Carr and left money for the repair of Carr Lane between Leeds and Wakefield.¹¹

Except in two cases it is hard to relate to the internal field boundaries of the Haigh to anything shown on the first edition six-inch map. The Old Laund, whose southern edge was formed by the park pale running west of Rothwell, may be identified as an oval enclosure to the north-west of Rothwell township, the north-east side of which was followed by the curved line of the road running north out of Rothwell village. The boundary of the close continued north a few yards south of the road before curving around to the south-west. This boundary was the southern edge of the tenants' common before enclosure. The common on the north of this close was assigned to Rothwell on enclosure with the result that the Old Laund appears as a tongue of Rothwell Haigh township extending into the lands of Rothwell itself.¹² The lower part of the enclosure was also assigned to Rothwell at some point, but its southern boundary is probably marked in part by the Rothwell-Carleton boundary running along an unnamed track on the first edition six-inch map.¹³ The sixteenth century map also shows how immediately to the west of the Old Laund, the close called Carleton wood narrowed to meet Carleton gate. This close was assigned to the tenants and the constricted passage may be identified with the southern end of the eighteenth-century common at about SE 325279. Immediately to the west of this spit of land lay the close called Hope which agrees approximately with the location of the modern Hope's Farm.

The area of the Haigh can be defined in a rough and ready fashion. It ran from immediately west of Woodlesford, north of Oulton and Rothwell (which it clipped) probably to the boundary between Rothwell and Middleton. In the north it stopped short of the river Aire. Its boundary in its north-west corner is deeply obscure. Intensive research in the post-sixteenth century archives, in particular on patterns of tenancy and landholding in the northern part of Rothwell parish, would produce a much clearer picture of the bounds of the park.

7. This is well shown on Michelmores's map in *Landscape History*. Two-thirds of the tithes of the demesnes of Rothwell (including this land) were granted to St. Clement's chapel in Pontefract Castle in the late eleventh century (Michelmores in *West Yorkshire, an archaeological survey*, II, pp. 488-9). The land liable to the charge is conveniently shown on a map of 1792, MPC 204. The culture of Thwaite and the demesne between the park of Rothwell and the river were, with other lands in Rothwell, granted to William Scargill by Henry VII in 1497, to hold in fee farm. DL41/29/9 fo. 1v.

8. Michelmores in *West Yorkshire, an archaeological survey*, II, pp. 489.

9. SC12/17/48.

10. It is on this basis that the claim made earlier in this paper, that the M1 passes through the Haigh on its west side, is made.

11. DL43/11/16; Lumb (ed.), 'Testamenta Leodiensia 1553-61', p. 109.

12. It may be seen quite clearly on Michelmores's map.

13. From about 328280 to 337281.

APPENDIX TWO

The 'testimonial' of the Rothwell tenants.

Public Record Office, E328/147

Be it known to all men that wher this present wryttyng lettures testimoniall shall come, see, reyd and herr, we the kynges poerr subjectes and tenna[n]ttes off the lordshype off Rothewell in the honor of Pontfrett wythin the countie of York and parcell off deuchie off Longcasturre sendes grettyng. Tha[t] where it is so as the sam tenna[n]ttes and inhabitorres as here aftur enswythe and is namyd haythe beyn tym out of myn[d] and thayr ancetorres, peassably posseyd, accostomyd and occupied be costom and mannecr off the said lordshype of Rothewell in fourome folloyng, that is to say; that every the kynges graces tenna[n]ttes wythin the sam lordshipe aght to have of right and costom as many bestis and horsses as thay can have and hold to thay[r] most profett, free lybertye wythin the parke off Rothewell callyd Rodwell Haighhe [*sic*] and therin to put to gyst and gressyng in sommerr season thar forsaydes bestes and horssis as many in substancez as the saydes tenna[n]ttes holdythe in boose and band in the wynter tym accordyng to the extent of his fermalld. And the saides tenna[n]ttes and inhabitorres yerly to content and pay at the fest off Saynt Myghaell tharkangell to the kynges use and to his heyrres for every horsse 12d and for every yong horse beyng off the aige of too or thre yerres old 8d and for everye best 6d and for every sterk 4d and thay ther to go and be from the fest of the Invencon of the Holye Cross [3 May] unto ye fest of Saynt Myghaell tharkangell [29 September].

And nowe off layt tymes Thomas lord Darcy hayth inclossyd all thaforsayd park and ground and mayde it in tenna[n]ttres to his awn most profett. And wrongfully takyth the fredom and costom frome the saides tenna[n]ttes contrarye the costom and manner to thaire gret poertye and undoyng so as the saides tenna[n]ttes be not abyll to do the kynges grace suche service as thay be bonden to do. Morover ther is dyvers plowes in the sam lordship cast down be reason theroff. And also is lykly to cast many moo in decay for ever. And also the saides poer tenna[n]ttes for thair costom ther off thair propre costes and chargijs doyth yerly and thar ancetorres ever hayth doyn susteyn, reperell and up hold the payle and fens of the said parke and haighe to the valowe of a hundreth acres and a halff wher also every yerr on off the saides the kynges tenna[n]ttes wythin the said lordshipe of Rodewell off his awn costes and charge goyng emonges the tenna[n]ttes and gedders in rent and ferm ye valowe of £85 and pays it yerlye to the kynges use and hys heyrres at his castill off Pontfrett.

In concederacon wheroff, yf it wold pleas the kynges most excellentt cowncell be the way of charryte tenderly consederyng the premysses so that we the saides tenna[n]ttes and inhabitorrs may be restoryd in thar right and costome of the mannor, we shall dalye praye to God for the preseravacon of the said honorable [*sic*] counsell.

In wytnesse heroff and for testyfying the treuth in every behalf we have put to our sealles. Henry Hunt, Gylbert Dobson, Antonye Moerre, John Gambill, John Clarburghe, Gilbert Stokkes, Xpofer Moer, Gilbert Moerr, Robert Lucas, William Moer, William Cason, Robert Lumbye, Rawf Buklay, John Moer, John Mychell, William Westerman, Ric' Marchall, Thomas Browk, John Manners, John Richardson, Thomas Townned, Henrye Sherpe, John Bowes, Robert Crofft, William Sherpe, Henry Towned, Stephyn Notter, Rawf Norres, John Parker, William Haighe, Robert Bartloyt, Robert Moghson, Gylbert Wodd and many oder.

Endorsed 'Rothwell' (and elsewhere) 'Rothewell, certificat T' Hill 23°?

Parchment, deed poll style, 23" wide, 11" high, written landscape, 12 seal tabs (with slits for two more).

The manuscript is published with the permission of the Public Record Office.

FARMHOLD STRUCTURE IN A DISTRICT OF PIECEMEAL ENCLOSURE: THE MANOR OF ASKWITH FROM 1596 TO 1816¹

By May Pickles and José Bosworth

Introduction

The removal over a period of time of the common fields of a township by piecemeal methods is well established in districts as far apart as East Anglia, Somerset and Lancashire.² The impact of these changes on individual villages and farmholds has been difficult to assess: specialised maps and surveys were drawn up to implement Parliamentary and general enclosure but were apparently not required by the more informal process of piecemeal enclosure. Its protracted and erratic course, perhaps without documentation or supervision, could lead to a continuation of scattered holdings long after the open fields had disappeared. In some districts this fragmentation of holding continued into the twentieth century, preserving the worst defects of the medieval farming arrangements.³

For the township of Askwith, in middle Wharfedale in the Old West Riding of Yorkshire, a series of estate documents exists which shows how enclosure proceeded over a period of two centuries. All Askwith's town fields save one had been divided as early as 1596 into small, narrow, sometimes curving strip-like enclosures though individual holdings were still dispersed. By 1716 the piecemeal process had eliminated the final open field, yet farms were not consolidated. Even as late as 1816 some farmholds were fragmented and very small.

Askwith is unusual both in respect of topography and tenure. Unlike most of its nucleated village neighbours on the Wharfe, Askwith's territory extends over the watershed where small scattered hamlets and single farmsteads are the norm. Tenurially, the township was divided at least since the middle ages between the neighbouring lords of Denton, Weston and Middleton (Fig. 1).⁴ Denton has always dominated, owning in the seventeenth century 22 tenancies (Appendix A) as against Weston's 16⁵ and Middleton's 2.⁶ The documents upon which the present study is based all relate to the Denton holding which is known as the 'Manor of Askwith'.

In parts of the Danelaw a manor in a multi-manorial township coincided with an internal hamlet division;⁷ but with Askwith this was not so. The three separate manors' territories were intermingled across the township and were not held in discrete blocks

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1. The authors are indebted to Bessie Maltby for many helpful suggestions made during the planning stage of the present study. We are grateful to Victor Bosworth and Helen and Charles Pickles for assisting us to make the maps. Our thanks are also due to Sylvia Thomas for help with the transcription of the 1596 document and to Moira Long for her helpful comments on an earlier draft. The responsibility for the final version, however, is ours alone.
 2. J. A. Yelling, *Common Field and enclosure in England 1450-1850* (London 1977), 71.
 3. Halton East, North Yorkshire. *Personal communication* from Mrs Kate Mason. See also Yelling, *op. cit.*, 126.
 4. The Lords of Denton and Middleton are described in a sixteenth-century Weston court roll as free tenants of Weston; both were fined for non-attendance at court. Leeds Record Office (hereafter LRO) Weston 286.
 5. Weston Court Roll, 1641. LRO, Weston 288.
 6. 1673 rental, Middleton collection; Yorkshire Archaeological Society (hereafter YAS) MD59/19.
 7. S. A. Moorhouse, 'Township boundaries in West Yorkshire', *Sciant Presentes* (Medieval Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society), 15 (1986), 12.

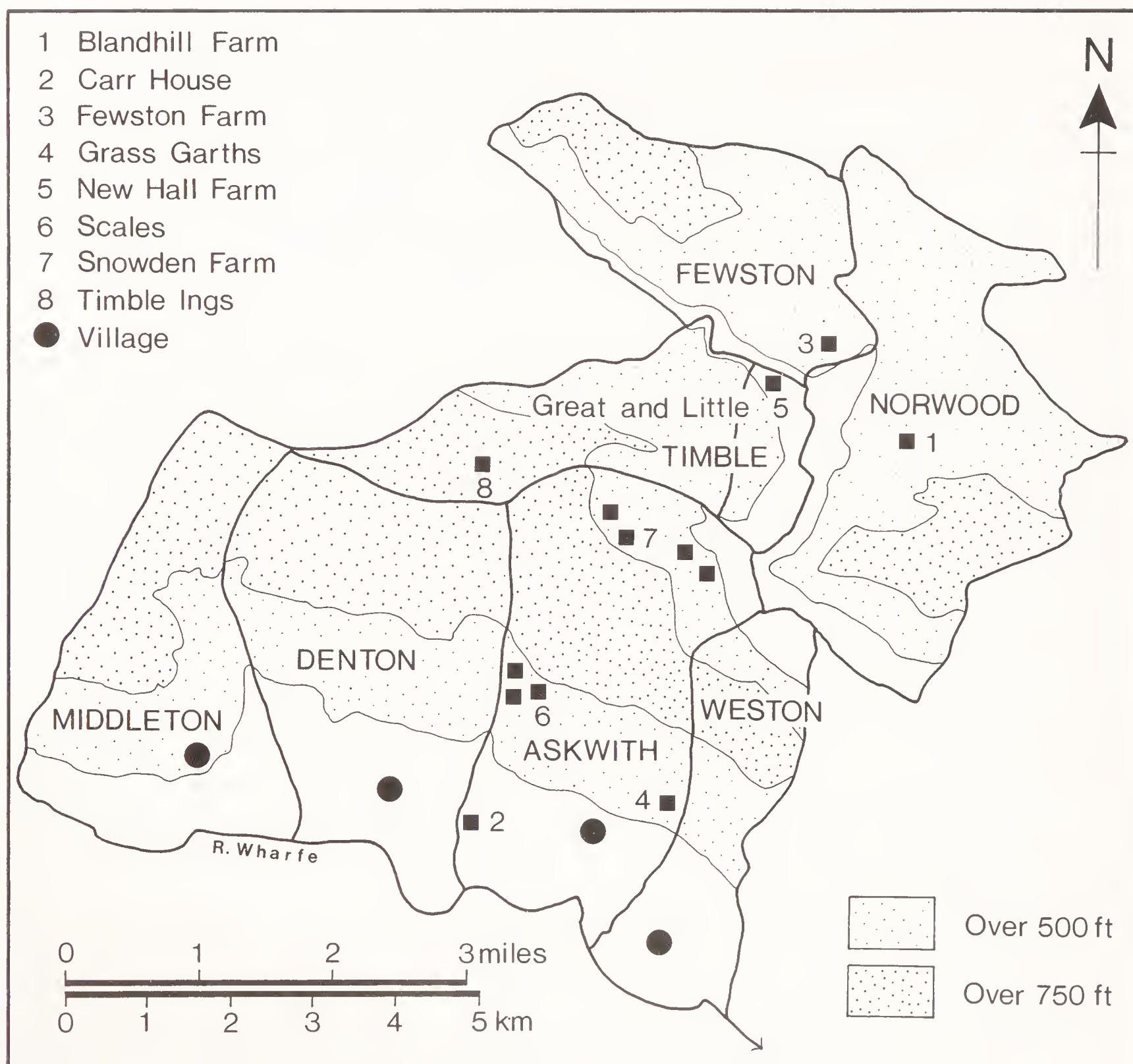


Fig. 1 Location of places mentioned in the text.

(Figs. 2a and 2b). The land around Askwith village belonged to all three lordships and one freeholder; Denton had a farm in Snowden, a hamlet lying close to the township's northern boundary; Scales, a hamlet located high on the Wharfe valley slope to the west of Askwith belonged to Denton and one small freeholder; the isolated farm Carr House, south west of the village was for a time part of the Denton demesne in Askwith; another isolated farm, Grass Garths, on the eastern boundary, was also freehold.

The documents

This remarkable collection consists of a map of Askwith and three manorial surveys of the manor of Askwith made between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They are a tenancy listing dated 1596,⁸ a tenancy listing⁹ and associated map dated 1716¹⁰ and a tenancy list of 1816.¹¹ In addition some use has been made of J. C.

8. Survey book of Denton, 1596. North Yorkshire Record Office, ZFW, 4/2.

9. Wakefield Registry of Deeds, West Riding Deeds, Vol. B, ff. 118-28.

10. The original map on parchment is at Weston Hall, Weston and measures approximately 2'6" x 3'. Traced copies are deposited at LRO, Weston 349 and YAS, MS1209, ADD/1.

11. Valuation of Askwith; LRO, Weston 406.

Crossley's map of Askwith field names derived from various nineteenth-century estate plans.¹² Spellings of field names vary between the 1716 map and the related 1596 and 1716 tenancy lists and within as well as between the two tenancy lists. The map spelling has been used in this paper except where reference is being made to specific fields (see Appendices A and B).

Of these several sources the most important for the purpose of the present study is the 1716 map (Fig. 2a & 2b). This was made when Mr James Ibbetson, a Leeds merchant, purchased from Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton 'the Mannor or Lordship or reputed Mannor or Lordship of Askwith'. The manor consists of a substantial area of Askwith township and several isolated farms in the neighbourhood.

The map accurately depicts and names the entire area under cultivation in Askwith



Fig. 2a

12. J. C. Crossley, 'On the Rural Landscape of middle Wharfedale', *Unpublished thesis no. 773* in Sheffield University Library. Mr Crossley's map (14B) is based on the first edition Ordnance Survey dated c1850 with field names derived from various Denton and Weston estate papers, namely a sale plan of 1902, a deed of exchange of 1870 and a petition document of 1855.

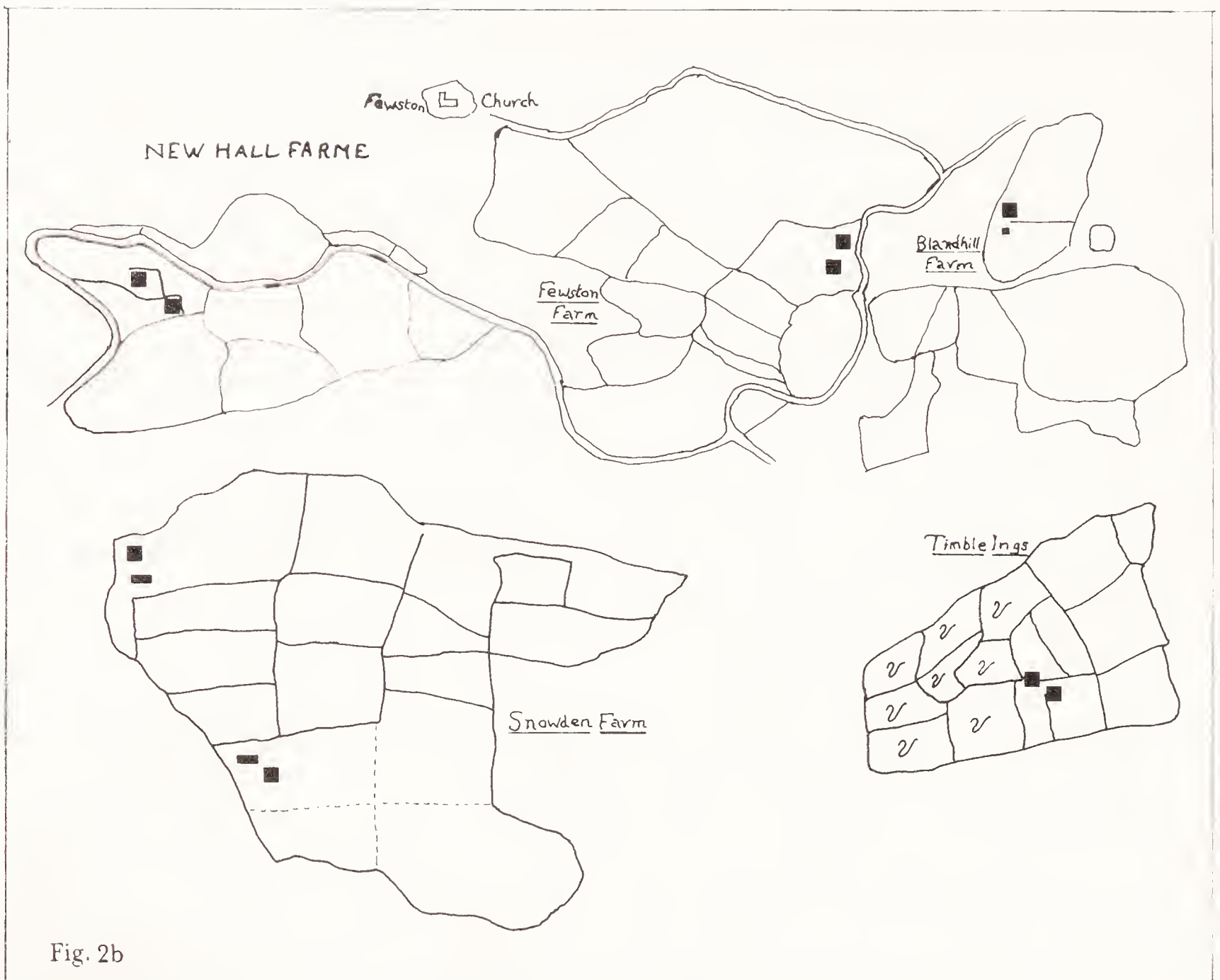


Fig. 2b

Fig. 2a & 2b Askwith landowners in 1716; James Ibbetson, Lord of the manor of Denton, unmarked; Denton demesne, marked 'D'; William Middleton, Lord of the manor of Middleton marked 'M'; William Vavasour, Lord of the manor of Weston marked 'V'; freeholders marked 'f'.

and five farms around its border. The Snowden farm is within the township, Blandhill lies in the township of Norwood, Fewston in Fewston township, New Hall in Little Timble and Timble Ings in Great Timble (Fig. 1).

The field pattern shown on the map reflects a medieval open field system of husbandry (Fig. 3). Numerous small fields sharing the name Hallams to the east of the village and Leafields towards the north give evidence of two former arable fields. From the position of seven tiny closes named West Fields or Ellershaw alias West Field it is probable that a third arable field lay on either side of the road leading westwards from the village. Lying between Leafields and West Fields is a large block bearing the name Hall Closes but there is no evidence to indicate whether the Askwith demesne was originally scattered or not. The field name Hall Closes and a Hall Lane which runs along their eastern edge suggest the existence and location of a very early hall in Askwith, since we know that in the middle ages there was no resident lord.

Meadowland and pasture are indicated on the map by blocks of fields sharing the names Middop, Monk Ings, Ing Dales, Milscows, Bare Banks and Anums. By contrast irregularly shaped closes bearing unique or little used names chiefly occur on the periphery of the township area. The map gives each enclosed field a letter and a number but the explanatory key is missing.

The two manorial surveys dated 1596 and 1716 respectively relate solely to the Askwith manor. Like the estate map the Indenture of 1716 (Appendix B) came into being when the manor changed hands; the origin of the sixteenth-century survey

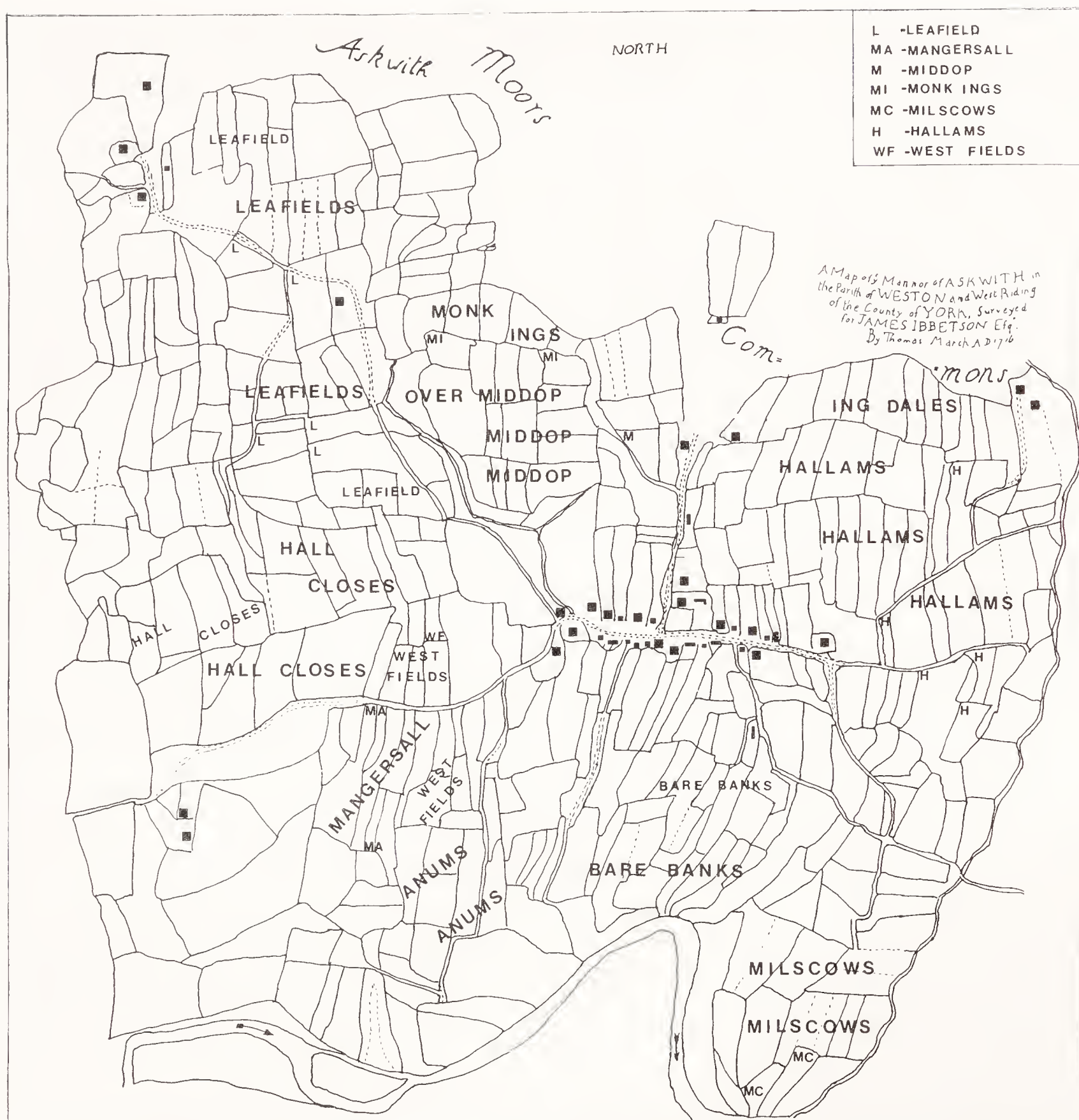


Fig. 3 The former common and shared fields of Askwith (field name spellings as on the 1716 map).

(Appendix A) is not known. Both surveys name the Askwith tenants and the fields they rent and in addition the 'measure of all the closes and grounds in acres' is given in 1596. A comparison of the tenancy lists shows that the named fields in each document are almost identical though there is one important exception.

It would appear that between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries Askwith's last remaining open field was enclosed. The terminology in the early document when referring to the Leafield area takes the form 'in the Lea Feild' (Appendix A) but in the later document this phrase is not used and only the words Leafields, Upper Lea Field and Lea Field (Appendix B) are used. The significant lack of the definite article coupled with the closes depicted on the map is presumptive evidence of a former common field since being farmed in severalty. Confirmation of the Leafield's unenclosed status in the later sixteenth century is provided by a manor court roll of Weston dated 1581.¹³

13. LRO, Weston 286.

There are slight discrepancies of spelling between the two tenancy lists some of which are ascribed to phonetic transcriptions of Yorkshire dialect. The term Mangersall in 1596 has become Magna Cells or Monga Cells in the later document, similarly Tryester Hill has become Craster Hills. Inevitably some fields named in the lists cannot be identified on the map and on the map there are a few unnamed closes. However, the essential similarity of terminology between the two periods means that the earlier tenancy list can be used in conjunction with the 1716 map.

The 1816 tenancy list came into existence when the township was valued for taxation purposes. It describes 23 farmholds and 10 cottages in this manor, approximately the same as the earlier documents, but field names have changed considerably since 1716 and a few field boundaries have been removed. Most named fields in the list however, can be identified on the Crossley field-name map on which Fig. 4 is based. Unidentified fields in the tenancy list refer to new enclosures (intakes) on the former waste whose locations are not precisely known.

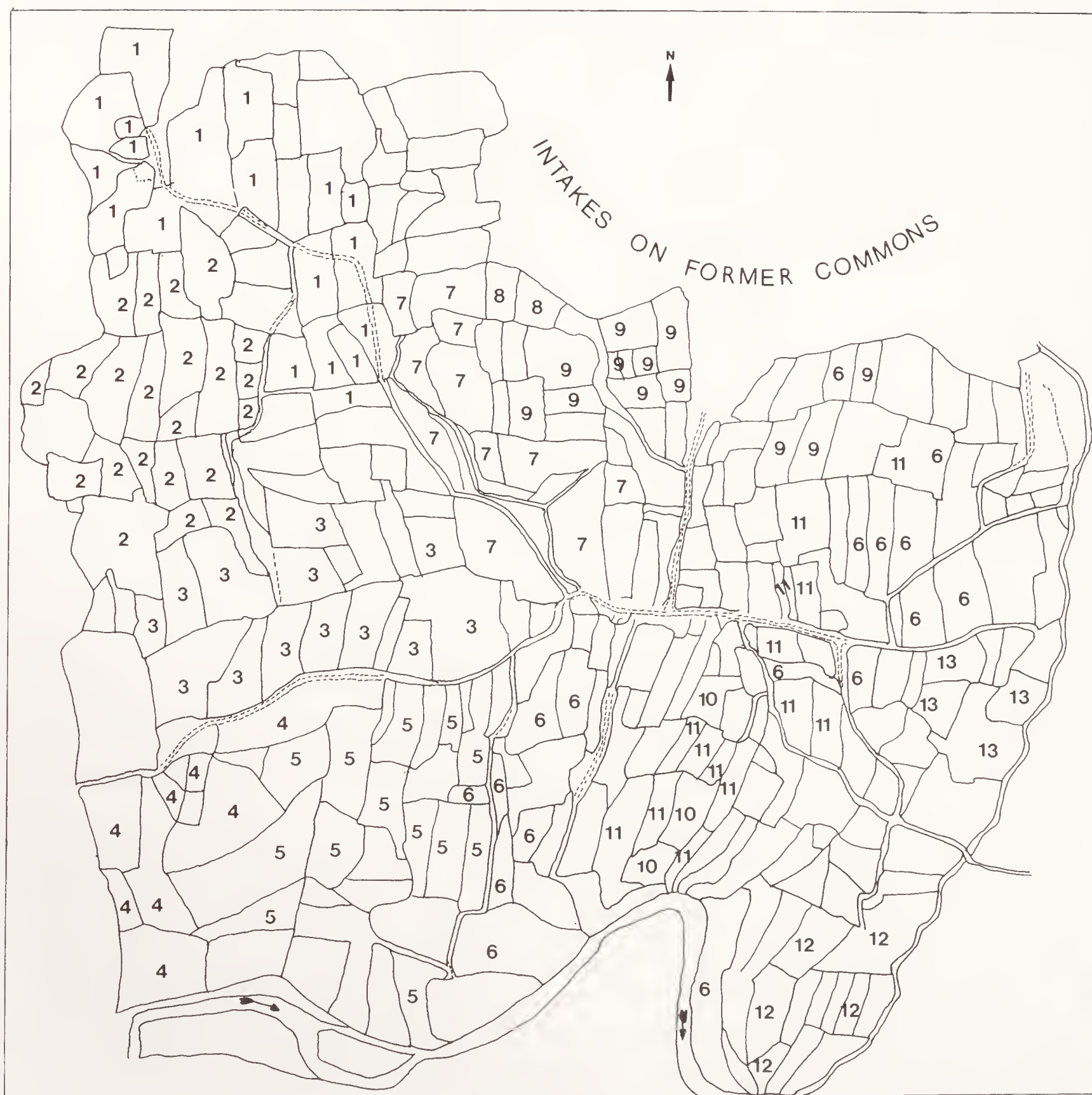


Fig. 4 Some consolidated and dispersed farmholds in 1816. Each number represents a holding.

An examination of the sources described above has provided a great deal of information about one manor and by implication about the organisation and functioning of a whole community.

The manor in 1596

The reputed manor of Askwith contained by estimation 770 acres in 1596. Of these, 190 were in demesne at Carr House and 16 lay in the township of Great Timble at Timble Ings (Fig. 1). Eighteen tenant farmers and 4 cottagers shared the residual 564 acres of which approximately 71 lay in unenclosed strips in the Leafield.

These 564 rented acres were divided unevenly between the 22 tenancies (Table 1). Those worked from the central core of the village (14) average 29 acres and range from 4 to 52. The three farmholds in the peripheral hamlet of Scales are fractionally larger at 54, 22 and 19 acres respectively. The largest holding of all, however, is the isolated Snowden farm with 76 acres. The four landless cottagers facing the village street have orchards and garths totalling less than one acre each.

Table 1. Tenancies in 1596

<i>Place</i>	<i>Farmholds</i>	<i>Cottages</i>	<i>Totals</i>
<i>Askwith township</i>			
Village	14	4	18
Scales hamlet	3		3
Snowden hamlet	(1)*		(1)
<i>Great Timble township</i>			
Timble Ings	1		1
TOTALS	18 (1)	4	22 (1)

*A tenancy with two holdings; the other is a farm in Askwith village

Farmhold structure in the different parts of the manor is also immensely diverse. The three separate farms of Snowden, Carr House (Denton demesne land) and Timble Ings (Great Timble) form well-defined blocks of irregularly shaped large fields. Grass Garths, the small freehold, appears to be cut out of the hallams area and consists of several small fields along the north-east boundary beck. Scales' land lies against the western boundary beck in a consolidated block and includes a portion of the Leafield. In contrast the 14 tenant farmholds and one freehold worked from the core of the village lie in fields both open and closed and encompass all types of terrain. Table 2 when used in conjunction with the field name map (Fig. 3) illustrates the scattered nature of the 17 tenant farmholds (Appendix A) worked either from the nucleated village or Scales in 1596. All but two of the 14 Askwith farms have former arable land lying in two or three areas of the township, and six have meadowland or pasture lying both north and south of the road line.

This pattern reflects an open field system of husbandry though by this time many individual strips had been laid together in anticipation of enclosure'.

The Manor in 1716

By 1716 there are some important changes in farm organisation on the manor although the overall pattern of land holding is strikingly similar to that of 1596. The tenancy list now mentions 35 tenancies but when this figure is broken down and allowance is made for the different basis on which the count was made the situation is not so different from 1596 as it would first appear.

The principal change is the complete enclosure of the leafield area. Closes here are

Table 2. Tenants' holdings in the former town fields and closes in 1596

<i>Tenants</i>		<i>Arable</i>		<i>Pasture / Meadow</i>		<i>Other</i>
	The	Hallams	postulated	<i>North</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>closes</i>
	L'fields		West Fields	Middop	Bare Banks	
			inc.	Ing Dales	Milscows	
			Mangersall	Monk Ings	Anums	
<hr/>						
<i>Scales</i>						
Uxor Ratclyf 22 ac.	X					X
A. Wadinton 19 ac.	X					X
R. Wiclyfe 54 ac.	X					X
<i>Askwith</i>						
J. Faucet 4 ac.		X			X	X
T. Flathers 25 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
J. Fontance 16 ac.	X	X		X		X
T. Foster 34 ac.	X	X	X	X	X	X
Uxor Foster 20 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
R. Holgate 6 ac.	X	X	X			X
J. Holmes 11 ac.	X	X	X			X
W. Kendall 44 ac.	X	X		X	X	X
T. Lacok 37 ac.	X		X	X		X
R. Mauson 37 ac.	X	X	X	X	X	X
C. Muschamp 52 ac.	X		X	X	X	X
T. Netherwod 50 ac.		X			X	X
G. Rauclyf 23 ac.	X	X	X	X		
R. Ward 48 ac.	X	X	X	X		X

now referred to as Leafields or Upper and Lower Lea Field. However, the closes are not in the hands of one farmer but spread among many. The 1716 estate map confirms that virtually the whole of the township was now enclosed from the river to the edge of the moor and between the east and west boundary becks. This is in line with the general findings, that, in semi-upland areas of the dales, common fields were for the most part enclosed before the early seventeenth century, yet some common field husbandry persisted.¹⁴

New tenancies occur mainly outside the core of the village. There are some encroachments on the waste and additions to the estate outside the township area. The three farms which have been acquired in neighbouring townships are represented as blocks of isolated contiguous fields at the top of the map, but are not in their correct topographical location nor drawn to the same scale (Fig. 2b). There are 24 acres at New Hall (Little Timble), a 47 acre holding at Fewston and a small new tenancy of under 3 acres at Timble Ings (Great Timble). This brings the total acreage of the Askwith manor to 844.

The Carr House area is greatly changed. It is no longer held in demesne but has been divided up and leased out. A block of fields immediately around the house is leased to one tenant, Stephen Braithwait (Appendix B, 31); a substantial acreage is used to enlarge several existing farms in Askwith and five tenants living in Denton similarly benefit. The enlarged holdings are even more dispersed than they were before the reorganisation. In addition, the Snowden farm is no longer rented by a village farmer as in 1596 and one of the 1596 Scales' holdings has been divided into two. There are only two 1716 farms, Edward Greenwood's and Widow Pickard's (Appendix B nos. 3 and 9 respectively), which cannot be matched with a predecessor and one, Edward Greenwood's may have been transferred from another landowner. These changes account for some of the discrepancies in the totals of tenancies between the two lists (Tables 1 and 3).

14. R. Fieldhouse, 'Some evidence of surviving open fields in the seventeenth-century Pennine dales and the gradual elimination of communal agriculture', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 54 (1982), 111-18.

Table 3. Tenancies in 1716

Place	Farmholds	Cottages	Closes only	Totals
<i>Askwith township</i>				
Village	15	3+1*	5**	23+1
Carr House	1			1
Intake	1			1
Scales hamlet	4			4
Snowden hamlet	1			1
<i>In other townships</i>				
Blandhill***	1			1
Fewston	1			1
Timble Ings	1			1
New Hall	1			1
TOTALS	26	3+1	5	34+1 = 35

*Three tenants plus one tenancy of two cottages with encroachments.

**These tenants live in Denton.

***This may be the 16 acre holding described as Timble Ings in 1596.

The lay-out of the nineteen 1716 Scales and Askwith farms lying dispersed across the township is markedly similar to that in 1596. Even more astonishing is the discovery that individual farms described in 1716 can be identified on the 1596 tenancy list; in some cases they are still being farmed by tenants bearing the same surname. A comparison of the two complete tenancy listings in Appendices A and B will illustrate the essential continuity of the farmholds between the two periods.

Out of the seventeen 1596 Askwith and Scales tenancies five can be precisely identified on the 1716 tenancy list. Thomas Lacok's farm (VI on Appendix A) is identified as Robert Smith's (2 on Appendix B); John Holme's farm (XIII) as William Smith's (4); George Rauclyf's farm (XVI) as John Walter's (14); Robert Wiclyfe's farm (XIX) as Thomas Mawson's (16) and Anthony Wadinton's (XX) as Richard Waddington's (17). Richard Waddington has acquired one more field, Hall Closes, formerly part of the Denton demesne in Askwith.

Two 1596 farmholds have been enlarged by one field. Richard Ward's farm (VII) is identified as George Booth's (7) with the addition of Cross Ing; Richard Holgate's farm (XV) is identified as Martin Bowling's (13) with the addition of Nan Rudding lately in demesre. These additions to existing farmholds have not led to consolidation.

Three 1596 farmholds have each lost one field. Thomas Netherwod's farm (VIII) is essentially the same as Widdow Foster's (6) with the loss of Beck Hoole; Thomas Foster's farm (XII) is the same as Thomas Foster's (10) except for the loss of Cearle Inge; and William Kendall's farm (XVII) is the same as John Thackeray's (11) with the loss of Edde Garth, presuming Wytte Ing and Wett Ing to be the same field.

Two other farmholds have lost and gained one or two fields. Uxor Foster's farm (XI) is substantially the same as Richard Sowden's (5) except that two fields Middop and Lea Feild have been lost and Serle Ings added. Cuthbert Muschamp's farm (I) is the same as George and John Muschamp's (1) except for the loss of Milscowe and the addition of Mire Cells and Gills; the croft referred to in 1716 is taken to be the same as the 'rest of the grounds about his houses' which in 1596 is estimated at approximately ten acres.

Two 1596 holdings have been amalgamated by 1716. Thomas Flathers' (X) and John Faucet's (XIV) farms were amalgamated to make John Whitfield's (12) in 1716 except that Stryalls has been lost and Seavy Carr added. Again the amalgamation has produced a greater dispersal.

By contrast one 1596 farmhold has been divided. Uxor Ratclyf's farm (XXI) is shared between Thomas Mawson (19) and John Mawd (18). Thomas Mawson's 1716 farm has

two extra fields Browns Holme north and Hall Closes, both lately in demesne; and John Mawd's has one former demesne field, Browns Holme south and one other, Hollin Close.

Finally, there are two 1596 farmholds which cannot be satisfactorily identified on the 1716 tenancy list. Richard Mauson's farm (XVIII) may be the same as Thomas Mawson's (8) having lost three fields, Stubbing Inge, Water Sydde and Barbanke Knowle and gained two, Cow Closes and Hob Nook. Joseph Fontance's farm (IX) might be identified as William & Widow Crook's (15) having lost five fields, West Croft, Chappell Close, Myddop, Hallam and Lea Feild and gained four lately in demesne, Carr Wood, Broad Ing, Anums and Hall Closes and six others, Tenter Garth, Long Croft, Nan Rudding, Pitt Ing, Tibb, Mitchel Croft and Edith Garth; this latter may have been the subject of transfer from William Kendall (XVII) whose loss of Edde Garth is noted above. Neither 1596 farmhold is well matched on the later tenancy list.

A few 1596 farmholds have lost or gained one or two fields over the period which cannot be traced either on the tenancy lists or the map. These fields may have been purchased or exchanged between one lord and another or between a lord and a freeholder. It is also possible that fields became unidentifiable through a change of name.

Despite these small inconsistencies a remarkable picture of continuity emerges from a comparison of the two tenancy lists. It would appear that the Askwith farms were passed down from one generation to another, more or less intact, over a considerable period of time. Modifications would of course be expected and these are evident in the enlargement of several farms, the division of one into two, and the exchange of particular fields between the farmholders. The similarities are nevertheless sufficient to justify the assertion that the tenancies in the 1596 survey can be identified in the later tenancy list.

The 1816 manor

By the early nineteenth century some features on the Askwith manor and in the township generally have begun to change. More land on the Askwith moors and commons has been taken into cultivation; farmholds are generally larger, and, on the whole, much more consolidated than they were in 1716.

The 1816 Askwith valuation shows that the township's cultivated area has increased in size to over 2,350 acres and includes several new intakes on the Askwith and Snowden commons. These new intakes are undatable. They first appear on the first edition ordnance survey (c1850) as large rectangular fields lying immediately north of an area of 'ancient enclosure'; in the Enclosure award 1779-82,¹⁵ however, which chiefly deals with the fencing round the highest points on the moorland waste and the establishment of a road across the waste, they are conspicuously absent.

Of the c2350 acres under cultivation Mr Middleton has three tenants on 104 acres and Mr Vavasour 17 tenants on 655. The Ibbetson estate has increased in size to over 1,000 acres let to ten landless cottagers (one is a smith) and 23 tenant farmers (Table 4). The residual c590 acres are divided between one vicarial holding and eight small proprietors who were either letting the land or farming it themselves.

15. LRO, Weston 350.

Table 4. Tenancies in 1816

Place	Farmholds	Cottages	Small holdings 3 and 4 acres	Totals
Askwith township				
Village	14	10		24
Carr House	1			1
Scales hamlet	2			2
Snowden hamlet	1			1
Unidentified			2	2
In other townships (?)	3			3
TOTALS	21	10	2	33

These figures show that the number of farmholds on the manor has not substantially increased, and therefore the farmholds have been enlarged. They now range in size from under 4 to 111 acres, averaging 44 acres. The enlargement of farmhold size can often be traced to a field described in the valuation as an ‘intake’.

Apart from these intakes the main fields in the 1816 valuation can be located on the Crossley map on which Fig. 4 is based. The familiar Snowden farm is identified in the valuation but not shown on the map. This leaves only three sizeable holdings which cannot be traced and it is probable that these are the peripheral farmsteads outside the township.

On eight of the seventeen Askwith and Scales farms identified there is now a marked degree of consolidation (Fig. 4). This is especially noticeable on the former demesne land at Carr House (no. 4 on map) and Hall Closes (3) and in the hamlet of Scales (1 & 2). In these areas solid blocks of fields are being worked as a unit with only the occasional intake lying at a distance on the former moorland waste.

Consolidation has produced several farms consisting of meadow and pastureland only, presumably indicating that changed farming practices eliminated the need for access to arable land in order to sustain a living.¹⁶ On six other farms there still is a degree of scatter of fields but with one exception (6) nothing like the enormous spread across the township which existed in 1716. A comparison of the two Figs. 2a and 4 will show how in some cases consolidation was prevented by the position of fields belonging to other landowners in Askwith.

From these two nineteenth-century sources it appears that those changes in farming practice and land organisation whose beginnings were detectable in 1716 developed further during the succeeding century; strip exchange was followed by exchange of closes to produce more compact units on which specialised stock production could be practised and the traces of the medieval farming community have almost disappeared.

Conclusion

The Askwith documents have provided a rich source of information on the evolution of agrarian practice from simple strip cultivation towards a more modernised English farming system. The reallocation of strips in the open fields was generally recognised as beneficial to farming during the middle ages. In Askwith strip exchange was usually, though not invariably, followed by physical enclosure. Hall Closes has already been cited as a possible example of early strip exchange and enclosure. Another is Monk Ings which lie adjacent to Middop; in 1176 Walter of Denton granted to the monks at Sawley

16. The agrarian economy of mid-Wharfedale was predominantly pastoral from the later seventeenth century onwards. May F. Pickles, ‘Agrarian society and wealth in mid-Wharfedale 1664-1743’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 53 (1981), 65.

‘my meadow in Midhope’.¹⁷ This land reverted to lay ownership in 1191 and for the ‘monk’ nomenclature to have become attached to the area it must have been a parcel of land by that date, not individual ‘strips’.¹⁸

Similarly in Hallams, West Fields and Leafields the long narrow strip-like closes testify to the reallocation and fencing of holdings in the former open fields. Exceptions existed; the 1716 map divides one close in Hallams by a dotted line and according to the tenancy list the close was shared by two farmholds. Other large closes in Bare Banks and Milscows were similarly marked, though their occupation seems to have been rationalised and there is now no sharing. By 1596 most strip aggregations were fenced with walls, trees or hedges and Fitzherbert’s familiar advice that every man is ‘to change with his neighbour, and to leye them together, and to make him one several close in every field’ had apparently been followed in Askwith almost to the letter.¹⁹

Having ‘laid their strips together’ the tenants continued farming on the medieval pattern of immensely dispersed farms despite the inconvenience. This ‘inconvenience’ was still being demonstrated in 1716; many families had persisted on the same land, identical or recognizable, and all the peasant holdings show elements of the medieval period.

Farmhold consolidation was, for the most part, not undertaken until long after 1716. The preamble to the Askwith Enclosure Act (1779-82) argues that ‘it would be a public advantage and also of benefit to the owners . . . if ancient inclosed lands were exchanged and laid more contiguous’.²⁰ Complete ‘contiguity’ had not been achieved in 1816 but a great deal of progress had been made.

The causes of this procrastination are not known though several inter-connected explanations are possible. It is probable that consolidation of farmholds was less relevant in pastoral districts such as Askwith than where ploughing and harvesting in small dispersed closes would be uneconomic. In pastoral Askwith both landlords and tenants were presumably satisfied for generations by familiar methods whose results were at least predictable.

Nineteenth-century consolidation was restricted to Ibbetson land and the other estates remained fragmented. It seems likely that the process of consolidation was made more difficult by the complexity of a multi-manorial arrangement. In Askwith we are very fortunate to be able to see this development of farming and estate administration by the happy survival of several informative documents. Only when further evidence is assembled will it be possible to discern regional trends and make generalisations.

17. Joseph McNulty ed., ‘The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary of Sallay in Craven’ II, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* XC (1934), 76.

18. *ibid.* 67.

19. Fitzherbert, *The Booke of Surveying and Improvements* (1539) quoted in R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1967 edition), 152.

20. Notes of an Inspection of the Askwith Inclosure Act dated 1779 or 1778 and held by Messrs. T. I. Clough & Co., Bradford as solicitors for Colonel Dawson of Weston Hall, Weston.

APPENDIX A²¹

The measure of my M[aste]r his land in Askwith as it is occupied by the tenantes there at this p[re]sent, 4 *die Maii* 1596.

		A	R	P
I	CUTHBERT MUSCHAMP farmhold			
	Garding, orchard, foregarthes			
	and the rest of the grounds about his houses	10	3	20
	The Hall Heads	10	0	20
	Myddop	5	1	8
	Ellershaw [alias West Fields]	3	0	34
	Cearle Inge	9	2	16
	Myllscowe	5	1	8
	In the Lea feild	8	2	0
	In this tenement there is A.52 R.O P.26 (<i>sic</i>)			
	His farmehold at Snawden in the whoole is	76	0	20
	Acres in both the whole tenements (<i>sic</i>)	129	0	6
II	WILLIAM DYGHTON house & garden lying to the street upon the sone & Thorp Garth upon the north			10
III	ELIZABETH MAUSON her house and garth adioyning upon John Syles on the west & the street upon the north		1	0
IV	LAWRENCE BROWNE house and garth adoyning to the little garth to the hind bank ²² head upon the north west			18
V	AGNES MAUSON house and croft caled fyve ²³ hooles		2	0
VI	THOMAS LACOK farmehold			
	Thorp Garthes, the Gyll the Flatt and the Myddop	16	1	0
	Nan Garth		3	36
	Stryals	7	1	20
	Monke Inge	3	2	0
	White Wals [pt Mangersall]	1	2	0
	Pytt Inge			30
	In the Lea Feild	7	3	6
	Acres in the whoole tenement	37	2	12
VII	RICHARD WARD farmehold			
	Orchard garth & crofte		3	16
	Hallams	3	2	10
	Myddop & Gylls	10	1	10
	Monke Inge	2	2	0
	Ellershaw [alias West Fields]	1	2	24
	P[ar]trycke Holme	3	2	20
	New Close & West Feild	7	2	20
	Stryalls	3	1	16
	Cragg Close	3	2	14
	Wood Close	1	2	22
	In the Lea Feild	9	3	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	48	2	18

21. In the 1596 and 1716 documents there are two manorial surveys, Denton and Askwith. We have extracted from each document the essential information about the Askwith tenants and the farmholds and cottages they rented. The tenancies have been ordered as in the original but the numbering system is ours. The original spelling has been retained throughout but the use of initial capitals has been regularised. The 1716 document is written in continuous prose and without punctuation.

22. This word could be read as 'bawk'.

23. This word could be read as 'fyne'.

		A	R	P
VIII	THOMAS NETHERWOD farmehold			
	Orchard garthes & croftes about his house	4	0	20
	The Anames	8	3	20
	Fox Garthes & Beck Hoole	4	0	8
	New Close	8	0	0
	Crose Inge	1	0	16
	Mylscowe	10	3	28
	Welkell	3	3	14
	Dauslacke & Hallams	9	0	20
	Acres in the whoole tenement	50	0	6
IX	JOSEPH FONTANCE farmehold			
	Orchard gardin & croft	2	2	20
	Chappell Garth		2	24
	West Croftes	2	0	28
	Chappell Close		2	20
	Myddop	1	0	22
	Eastan Inge	1	0	10
	Bastanbank and the Cowpastures	6	0	8
	Hallam		3	32
	In the Lea Feild	1	1	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	16	2	30
	THOMAS FLATHERS farmehold			
	Orchard gardin and crofte	2	0	0
	Stryalls	3	2	10
	Monke Inge	2	3	10
	Barbanke	1	2	0
	Hallams	7	3	20
	Tryester Hill	3	2	8
	In the Lea Feild	4	1	0
	Acres in the whoole tenement	25	2	8
XI	UXOR FOSTER farmehold			
	Orchard & gardin		2	12
	Mauson Garth			28
	Myddop	1	0	4
	The Water Flattes	6	1	10
	Thorne Acres	1	2	16
	Barbank	5	1	0
	Hallams	2	2	8
	In the Lea Feild	2	2	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	20	0	24
XII	THOMAS FOSTER farmehold			
	Orchard croft Gill & Hallams	9	1	16
	Barbanke	8	1	36
	Mylscow	5	2	20
	Mangersall	2	1	16
	Cearle Inge	1	2	22
	Inge Dayles	1	3	32
	In the Lea Feild	5	1	10
	Acres in the whoole tenement	34	2	32
XIII	JOHN HOLMES farmehold			
	Orchard gardin & crofte	2	0	26
	Beane Close	1	2	6
	The Leas	1	3	0
	Hallam	3	1	10
	Mangersall		3	14
	Stubbing Inge Nooke		2	2
	In the Lea Feild	1	0	10
	Acres in the whoole tenement	11	0	28

		A	R	P
XIV	JOHN FAUCET farmehold			
	Orchard garding & Croft		2	10
	...ke ²⁴		2	4
	Barbanke	2	0	0
	Dove Hills [pt. Hallams]		3	36
	Acres in the whoole tenement	4	0	10
XV	RICHARD HOLGATE farmehold			
	Garth & crofte	2	3	0
	Hallams	1	1	36
	Ellershaw (alias West Fields)	1	1	30
	Cearle Inge			36
	In the Lea Feild	1	0	10
	Acres in the whoole tenement	6	3	32
XVI	GEORGE RAUCLIF farmehold			
	Orchard garth & croft	1	1	10
	Myddop & Monke Inge	6	3	10
	West Feild Close	4	2	8
	Mangersall	2	0	4
	In the Lea Feild	4	1	0
	Hallams in the occupacion of William Gill	4	1	16
	Acres in the whoole tenement	23	1	8
XVII	WILLIAM KENDALL farmehold			
	Garth croftes & Gill	2	1	0
	Wallay crofte	2	0	8
	West Garth		1	12
	Edde Garth	2	0	20
	Hallam & Ingdales	8	2	20
	Myddop	6	1	4
	Monke Inge	2	3	0
	Anams	4	0	36
	Cearle Inges	1	3	16
	Longe Close	2	0	10
	Wytte Inge		2	0
	Water Close and Thorne Ridding	5	1	4
	In the Lea Feild	6	1	20
	Acres in the whoole tenement	44	2	30
XVIII	RICHARD MAUSON farmehold			
	Orchard croft & groundes about his house	14	1	10
	Ingedales & Hallams	9	2	28
	Mangersall	4	3	20
	Stubbing Inge	1	1	10
	Water Sydde	1	3	17
	Hall Flatte	2	2	0
	Barbanke Knowle		2	20
	In the Leafeild	2	2	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	37	3	11
XIX	ROBERT WICLYFE farmehold ²⁵			
	Garth croft west croft & Lodgber	5	3	20
	Stones garth	2	3	0
	Watt Garth		2	0
	Crabtre Flatt and the rest of the Inges thereabout	19	1	0
	Windhill Wyndhill Banke and the litle garth	5	3	28
	Megg Flattes	8	3	36
	In the Lea Feild	11	1	0
	Acres in the whoole tenement	54	2	4

24. An illegible word.

25. The word 'Scalles' is written above 'Wiclyfe' in another hand and appears to refer to the two next farmholds as well.

		A	R	P
XX	ANTHONY WADINTON farmehold			
	Croft and gardinges		2	0
	Windhills	2	0	16
	Coote Garth		2	6
	The Longe Landes	2	1	20
	The Wood Close, Bullock Ridding the Nether Flatt with the little			
	lyne buttes	5	1	36
	The Neyther Inge	2	1	20
	In the Lea Feild	5	2	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	19	0	4
XXI	UXOR RATCLYF farmehold			
	Gardinges and crofte	1	1	10
	The Fyve Landes Crane Heades Helme Closes and Crag Closes	11	0	12
	The Day Mawing	2	0	8
	Myres	2	0	6
	In the Lea Feild	5	2	26
	Acres in the whoole tenement	22	0	22
XXII	UXOR GYLL her whoole tenement at TYMBLE INGES is	16	0	0
	In the whoole number of acres of my M[aste]r his land within the manner of Askwith together with Snawdon and Tymble Inges is (<i>sic</i>)	580	2	33

APPENDIX B

An INDENTURE made the fourteenth Day of July, 1716 between Lord Thomas Fairfax and others and James Ibbetson of Leeds, merchant, in respect of the Mannor or Lordship or reputed Mannor or Lordship of Askwith with the Rights Royaltys Members and Appurtenences thereof situate lying in the parish of Weston etc.

- 1 GEORGE & JOHN MUSCHAMP farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, croft & garden Upper Lea Field, Lower Lea Field, Meddup, Hall Head, Gills, the Croft, Mire Cells, Serle Ings, Ellershaw.
- 2 ROBERT SMITH farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable & garth Gill, Thorp Garths, the Flatt, Middup, Nun Garth, Stryals, Monk Ings, White Wall, Pitt Ings, Leafields.
- 3 EDWARD GREENWOOD farm one messuage or tenement with Orchard Garth barn & stable the Little Croft, Monga Cells, Shool Breads, Gill, Crooked Moor Closes, Meddup, Pighill, Conel Head, Lea Fields, Hallums, West Hallums.
- 4 WILLIAM SMITH farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable, orchard garden & croft Bean Close, Leas, Hallums, Magna Cells, Stubbing Ing, Nook, Lea Field, Hallums (late Radcliffs).
- 5 RICHARD SOWDEN farm one messuage or tenement with Garth, Hallums, Waterflatts, The Lane or Mawsons Garth, Thorn Acres, Barr Banks, Serle Ings.
- 6 WIDDOW FOSTER farm one messuage or tenement with Barn yard & orchard the Croft, Lower Miskay, Midle Miskay, Upper Miskay, Cross Ing, the New Closes, Hallums, Dow Stacks, Well Kill, Fox Garth, Little Anum, Great Anum.
- 7 GEORGE BOOTH farm one messuage or tenement with Barns, garth & croft, Hallums, Cross Ing, Meddup & Gills, Monk Ing, Eller Shaw, Patridge Holme, New Close & West Fields, Stryals, Craggy Close, Wood Closes, Lea Field.
- 8 THOMAS MAWSON farm one messuage or tenement with Barn backside, 2 paddocks & orchard, Hob Nook, Cow Close, Hall Flatts, Little Layfields, Hallums, Ing Dale, Monga Cell.
- 9 WIDOW PICKARD farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, garden & orchard, the Moor Close, the other Moor Closes, the Well Close, Croft, Lea Field, Water Side, Stubbing Ing, Monga Cells.
- 10 THOMAS FOSTER farm one messuage or tenement with Barn & croft, the Gills, Hallums, Barrbank, Milskow, Monga Cells, Leafield, Ing Dales, another part of Lea Fields.
- 11 JOHN THACKERAY farm one messuage or tenement with Garth croft & Gill, Wally Croft, West Garth, Midup, Midup (late Steads) Hallums and Ing Dales, Midup, Monk Ing, Anums, Serle Ing, Long Close, Wett Ing, Water Close, Thorn Redding, Lea Fields.

- 12 JOHN WHITFIELD farm one messuage or tenement with a barn & croft, the Hallums, the Dove Hills, Lower Hallums, Upper Hallums, Craster Hills, Monk Ing, Barr Bank, Upper Lea Fields, Lower Lea Fields, Seavy Carr, together with cottage formerly in tenure of THOMAS LATHAM.
- 13 MARTIN BOWLING farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, garth & croft, the Hallums, the Ellershaw alias Westfield, Serle Ing, Lea Field, Nan Rudding.
- 14 JOHN WALTERS farm one messuage or tenement with Garth & croft, the Middup, Monk Ing, West Field Close, Manga Cells, Lea Field.
- 15 CROOK WIDOW & WM. CROOK farm one messuage or tenement with Barn, kiln, stable & foldstead, Tentar Garth, Long Croft, Chappel Garth, Edith Garth, Barston Bank, Cow Pasture, Pitt Ing, Eastern Ing, Tibb, Mitchel Croft, Carr Wood, Broad Ing, Anums, Hall Closes, Nan Rudding also a messuage or tenement with yard, outhouses & croft. One other Croft in occupation of WIDOW HARGREAVES.
- 16 THOMAS MAWSON farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Barn, stable, croft & West Croft & Lang Barr, Stones Garth, Wat Garth, Crabtree Flatt and the Ings about the same, Windhill & Windhill Bank, Little Garth, Mag Flatt, Lay Field.
- 17 RICHARD WADDINGTON farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Croft & garden, Windhills, Coat Garths, Long Lands, Wood Close, Bullock Rudding, Nether Flatt with the little Line Butts, Nether Ing, Lea Field, Hall Closes.
- 18 JOHN MAWD farm in SCALES one tenement with Barn & garden, the Five Lands, the Crane Head, Hollin Close, Cragg Close, Miers, pt Lea Field, Browns Holme (South side of river Wharfe) in tenure of . . . Mawd Gent.²⁶
- 19 THOMAS MAWSON carpenter farm in SCALES one messuage or tenement with Barn, garden & croft, the Lea Field, the Five Lands, Helm Close, Day Mowing, Browns Holme (north side of River Wharfe) Hall Closes.
- 20 GEORGE WHITAKER and WILLIAM ROBERTS in SNOWDEN farm with two messuages and several Closes and parcells of ground called . . .²⁷ in the whole seventy-six acres and twenty perches or thereabouts.
- 21 THOMAS and JOHN KENDAL two cottages, a piece of ground called the Intake.
- 22 JAMES HODGSON a cottage with a yard.
- 23 THOMAS FELL a cottage.
- 24 CHRISTOPHER KENDALL a cottage.
- 25 STEPHEN PARKINSON of DENTON two Closes, West Leas, Bridge Flatt.
All those free rents or rents of assize in Askwith of 7s 1d. a year²⁸
- 26 Two small cottages and the encroachments upon the waste grounds of Askwith.
- 27 CHRISTOPHER GREENWOOD [Denton] Halls Closes
- 28 WILLIAM FOSTER [Denton] Hall Closes
- 29 ROBERT LANE the elder [Denton] Halls Closes
- 30 JOHN HEBDEN [Denton] Abrahams Bosom
- 31 STEPHEN BRAITHWAIT farm one messuage or tenement with a barn & stable, Broadstones, two Ings next Carwood, part of Carwood
- 32 WILLIAM SLAYDON and JOHN WOODHEAD, farm in TIMBLE INGS in parish of Fewiston²⁹ one messuage or tenement with Barn & outhouses, several lands, meadow and pasture measuring two acres and one rood more or less

26. There is a small space between 'of' and 'Mawd' in the document.

27. There is here a gap in the writing equal to several words.

28. We have not been able to identify 'all those free rents'.

29. Timble Ings is in the township of Great Timble in the parish of Fewston.

- 33 Formerly WILLIAM DICKINSON now JOHN SIMPSON in FEWISTON one messuage or tenement with Barn, Dickinsons Close ten acres and two roods, Great and Little Kirk Banks containing fourteen acres one rood and eleven acres respectively, Kirk Holme twelve acres and one rood
- 34 HENRY WAKEFIELD, farm in BLANDHILL³⁰ in the parish of Fewiston one messuage or tenement with Barn Croft, Bullistree Flatt, Oak Flatt, Sheep Coat Flatt, the Pasture, the Tubb Garth, the Croft, the Garth, the Little Heads
- 35 WILLIAM ROBERTS, Little Timble, Otley, farm
one messuage or tenement called NEWHALL with closes called
One Close Pasture seven acres one rood
Skinner Flatt five acres one rood
Little Stone Flatts and Rowton five acres three roods
Meadow above the house two acres
Closes by river four acres two roods
Whinney Close beyond the river one acre one rood.

30. Blandhill is in the township of Norwood in the parish of Fewston.

THE ROBINSONS OF NEWBY PARK AND NEWBY HALL

By G. Hinchliffe

(1) SIR WILLIAM ROBINSON (1655-1736)

The records of the family, covering a period from the middle of the sixteenth century until well into the eighteenth, and preserved in the Archives Department of the Leeds City Libraries, are the main source of the family's history. They are available by the courtesy of their owner, Mr. R. E. J. Compton of Newby Hall.

An earlier William Robinson was born in York in 1522 and lived there until 1616. He became a merchant, exporting Yorkshire kerseys to the Baltic countries at a time when the Merchant Adventurers of York were taking an active part in breaking down the monopoly of the Hanseatic League in that region. He became governor of the York company and spent several periods in the Low Countries, pursuing the interests of its members. He also represented York in parliament and was twice Lord Mayor of the city. In later life he acquired large areas of land in the triangle between the Ouse and the Foss and acquired the manor of Clifton, so that his family became influential in the region north of the city. His portrait is preserved in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall in York (Plate 1).

A second William Robinson followed his father's mode of life, but died comparatively young in 1626, to be succeeded by yet another namesake (1600-1658) who lived through the stormy era of the Commonwealth. He was knighted by Charles I in 1633, and became high sheriff of the county in 1638, an office in which one of his duties was the collection of Ship Money from reluctant fellow landowners, meeting any deficiency from his own pocket. However, when war came in 1642 Robinson supported Charles I, and when the Earl of Newcastle occupied York in the king's name in 1644, he was appointed colonel in the royal forces. The rank seems to have given him little military responsibility, and when shortly after the three Parliamentary generals Leven, Fairfax and Manchester had defeated Prince Rupert and Newcastle at Marston Moor, they gave Robinson a safe conduct, though this did not save him at the end of the war, when his properties were seized by the victors. He was summoned before Parliament's estates committee and was fined a 'sixth', assessed at £2,175.

Two generations later yet another William Robinson (1655-1736) became head of the family in the critical year 1689. He wisely supported the accession of William and Mary, and in 1690 was created a baronet. A few years earlier he had married Mary, sister of John Aislabie, whose family controlled the parliamentary seats at Ripon, and whose rapid rise to political eminence was to be of great value to the Robinsons, but whose disastrous fall consequent upon the South Sea crash was also to involve them, though to a lesser degree. William's wife bore him a numerous family, some of whom died in infancy or early childhood, although there survived five sons, Metcalfe, Tancred, William, Thomas and John, but of five daughters only Anne grew to womanhood. The careers of the sons follow an almost classical pattern; Metcalfe went to Cambridge but neither graduated nor followed any profession, though preparing for public life until afflicted by deafness; Tancred was entered for the Royal Navy and William for the army, both services then enlarged by Marlborough's war; Thomas after a successful career at Cambridge and the Middle Temple entered the diplomatic service; the youngest, John, who proved something of a prodigal, was eventually 'disposed of to the Indies', to use his father's words. Of the professions open to the sons of the gentry the Church was the only



Plate 1. Portrait of William Robinson in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate, York.

one of which they did not avail themselves, though Thomas did consider a clerical career before becoming a diplomat. Anne remained at home, becoming her father's housekeeper and secretary, especially when he was stricken by attacks of that eighteenth century affliction, the gout. She left home on her marriage to Thomas Worsley of Hovingham in 1733.

When James II lost the kingdom and William of Orange, anxious to base his still uncertain tenure of the throne upon parliamentary support, summoned the Convention Parliaments of 1688 and 1689, William Robinson, though desirous of succeeding his uncle as one of York's representatives, failed to secure nomination but found a seat at neighbouring Northallerton in both assemblies through the help of the Franklands, proprietors of that borough. In 1698, however, he was able to secure the favour of the city council of York and was elected to a seat which he retained in nine successive parliaments, covering the rest of the reign of William III and the whole of that of Anne. The conditions governing the election of the two members for York, tightly controlled by the freemen of the city, changed rapidly after the Civil War, and were to move even more radically during Sir William's tenure. The tendency to reduce such influence as the commons of the city had had over the choice of burgesses of parliament, evident in Tudor times, was halted in the Civil War period, and from 1660 the freemen, an increasing body, began to exert their influence. In a total population of about 10,000 they now numbered between one and two thousand, being in the main the substantial tradesmen and householders, men who had paid heavy fees to become members of their guilds, membership of which carried with it the freedom of the city. However, numbers of them were in quite humble circumstances, and so open to pressure or persuasion during elections. Moreover, it was comparatively easy to secure the creation of new freemen, and this practice had certainly begun to influence elections in York, with candidates paying all or part of the entry fees of freemen in return for promises of their support. The practice certainly influenced the elections of 1713 and 1714, by which time Robinson, now in his sixtieth year and in poor health, was planning to withdraw from parliamentary life. The Letters show that although he found it necessary to use the new methods of securing election, he disliked them but at the same time wished to keep one of the York seats for his family.

In the 1713 election Sir William had headed the poll as usual, but Tobias Jenkyns, whose family had almost as strong a parliamentary tradition in York as had the Robinsons, was defeated by Admiral Robert Fairfax, who was a newcomer in this field. In the next election, which came only one year later, occasioned by the accession of George I, Jenkyns decisively defeated Fairfax, though with Sir William heading the poll as before. The votes cast the two elections were as follows:¹

	1713		1714
Robinson	1368	Robinson	1388
Fairfax	835	Jenkyns	1225
Jenkyns	802	Fairfax	844

The sharp rise in the total numbers of voters in the second election suggests a wholesale creation of freemen, 400 according to the Victoria County History, but a letter written in 1719 in which Thomas Harrison, Sir William's election agent, made belated claim for payment of his election expenses, suggests an even bigger creation,

York 24 Jan. 1719

Sir,

Some time since the last election I gave notice of divers expenses in the management of that affair, half whereof I charged to you and the other half to Mr. Jenkyns. Now I send you particulars of my charges. The paper No. 3 contains what I disbursed for making new freemen, which your friends thought necessary, seeing the adverse party had made great numbers and continued to so so, and we concluded that unless the same methods were taken by you and Mr. Jenkyns one of you would be lost. I paid for their freedom on condition they vote for you both, and your friends assured me you were wiling to be at one half the expense, and you yourself sent several to me to get their freedoms, and every week Mr. Banks called upon me for an account of what was done on that head that he might acquaint you with the numbers engaged that way.

¹ Drake. 1788 Ed. Vol. 2 p.114

There were in all about 700 new freemen on both sides, of whom I made 300, as may be seen by the list No. 3, and the said new freemen did attend at the election all but 10 or 12, and voted according to their engagement.

Another chargeable article was the procuring and management of country freemen; with some trouble I got a list of above 200. There were 190 of them brought here, it cost as appears in paper No. 4, half whereof I charged to you and the other half to Mr. Jenkyns. They were most of them treated at home and kept in good humour by persons appointed to wait upon them several times; most of them had their charges paid by me, and horse hire and days' wages to such as were labouring men, and several houses appointed for their entertainment in the election days. I showed you my list in your own house in this town, and the scheme I had laid to get them to town, and the houses I named to you which I thought proper for their reception, and you named two others, and agreed to be at half their charge.

When the election was over, it was agreed to give a drink to such as had been toiling about it, the George and the Black Swan were named. Mr. Banks and I took care to keep order and be at as little expense as could be at both houses: you paid for one house and Mr. J. the other: but besides what was spent there, others of your friends of the better sort would not mix with the mobility, but told us they would refresh at some other houses where they might be quiet. These notes I paid and charged one half to you, the other half to Mr. Jenkyns, and are included in the paper No. 4.

The trouble I had in this affair was very great, you know the numbers I had to deal with and their inconstancy. I kept them in good humour with good words and a drink sometimes to such as were active: wherever I went into the country I was obliging to the freemen, and whenever any of them came to town that had heard of me, they were sure to call, and to keep steady I knew what was to be done.

I spent time and money with them at Leeds, Wakefield, Selby, Beverley, Burlington, Hull, Pocklington, etc., and at several villages within eight or nine miles of this place, and had all the success I could desire. I freely gave all my labour and pains for gentlemen I so much esteem. Enclosed is my account of your moiety. Mr. Jenkyns has paid me his to a penny with £10 for my petty expenses, besides which he has also paid me above £500 disbursed by me in treats before the last election. I doubt not but you have heard of a run that has been upon me for cash lodged in my hand upon notes, occasioned by fears and jealousy raised by some secret enemies. I thank God I have stood the brunt and very near weathered it, not many in our town could have endured such a shock. My occasions being pressing, in order to answer demands upon me, has made me apply to several that owe me moneys, to send me supplies: some have answered, and many have disappointed me.

I shall be glad of your favourable answer to this my representation, for the length of which I beg pardon and remain

Your very humble servant
Tho. Harrison

(NH 2490)

As this letter is a claim for payment of expenses it may be somewhat exaggerated, but it gives a clear picture of how the election campaign of 1714 had been run, with a less detailed statement that the previous one had followed similar lines. Sir William's letters, written when he was wanting to retire but hoped to hand on the York seat to his son Tancred, show his concern at this development, which made him fearful that the family's resources might be overstrained by these rapidly rising costs. His embarrassment is clear from a letter written by his daughter Anne to her brother Thomas,

My father went this morning about an odious trial he has, the first he ever had in his life. The assigns of Mr. Harrison sue him for above £800 pretended to be laid out on the election. I don't like it for one would think they would not have ventured upon it without some witnesses ready to swear that my father promised to pay all the money he should lay out, or a promise under his hand to the same purpose.

The family's concern was further expressed in a letter to Metcalfe from his mother Lady Robinson. It is dated 13 October, and although the year is not stated, it must refer to the election of 1713, since the only other contest in which Robinson, Jenkyns, and Fairfax engaged took place early in 1714. The letter nicely balances Lady Robinson's enthusiasm for her husband's popularity with her concern for the expenses entailed.

Dear Met,

I have yours, - - - Your father has been sadly fatigued yesterday and the day before, walking over the town, had all the best citizens to attend him. He entertained them with breakfast here at home, cold meats, hot buttered loaves and burnt claret, cold wine and ale plenty, at nights at public houses. Last night at Hubanks the mob broke so in on them that they had like to have devoured them, and much ado to keep them out of the cellar. The bill is not come, I wish forty pounds excuses it. Mr. Fairfax went about at the

same time with twenty or thirty, your father's train was often two or three hundred. Mr. Jenkyns will have a fine time on't today and tomorrow. Your father met with wonderful success. He will have more votes than ever.

In haste,
Your affec. mother M.R. (V.13215)

During the long absences in London which were entailed by his parliamentary duties Sir William wrote frequently to his wife, outlining briefly the business being transacted, as in 1715 when articles of impeachment of the fallen tories were being prepared and he reported,

There are 40 (articles) against Lord Bolingbroke and 30 against Lord Oxford, they will be brought in on Thursday. Brother Aislalie tells me by no means must I resolve on the country till they are agreed on in our House, and lodged with the Lords - - - We shall have scaffolds built now I think in Westminster Hall.

(V. 13974)

Brother Aislalie's fears that William might depart prematurely for the country were probably justified, since Robinson frequently wrote to his wife of his impatience to be back at Newby, 'It will add fresh vigour to both Mett and me. I have never longed so much to be among the haymakers as now'. A later letter asked his wife to bless their sweet little ones, and hoped she would be at her best when he rejoined the family. 'Pray make much of yourself and eat suppers, and flesh of Fridays, that I may find you in good plight at my return, which I hope will be before Christmas, for already I desire to be with you.' Another letter reveals a subtle mixture of marital motive,

London. 6 May (no year)

My Dear,

Yesterday I sent down by the Richmond carrier your manteau and petticoat with a dozen and a half of silver plates and four salvers. The rest of the plate I will send down next week. Your manteau is an Indian silk, the colour between olive and a brick, with violet coloured flowers and sprigs of gold, the lining is ordinary but will last till winter, the fringe the prettiest imaginable, and very new fashioned. You desired your clothes might be slight, you know I always love to humour you, so bought them not so rich as else my inclinations let me to, for I love to see you fine, though grave. This is a good mixture, suitable enough I think to a married lady, and I hope you will not take it ill. I have a waistcoat of the same, being a remnant of the two Indian pieces your manteau and petticoat is made of.

Poor little Tancred's election (to the Royal Navy) was put off till Wednesday next week. I hope to be happy in your bosom, and playing with my sweet children.

Yours entirely,
W.R.

(V. 13942)

The letters suggest that Robinson carried out his parliamentary duties in London conscientiously though with no great zest, his main care being the interests of this city, as when he was active in securing the passage of a 'butter bill' which was intended to regulate the sale of that commodity in the markets of York, a matter of much interest in the city, which was then the centre of the trade.

The mounting cost of elections was not Sir William's only pre-occupation. In 1720 came the downfall of his brother-in-law John Aislalie, who in his earlier office of treasurer of the navy had consistently furthered the careers of two of Sir William's sons, Tancred in the Royal Navy and William in the Army. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he had engaged in the dubious transactions which led to the South Sea crash in 1720. His attackers in the commons alleged that he held £27,000 South Sea stock at the same time as he was furthering the fortunes of the Company by dovetailing its finances with those of the government, but he was also accused of admitting his friends to a share in the profits by allowing them to become stockholders on privileged terms, especially for the Third Subscription, against which the heaviest criticism was levelled.

The Letters show that the Robinsons, Sir William, his sons Metcalfe and Tancred, and his daughter Anne, had holdings, but mainly of the first and second subscriptions. The third subscription was launched in June 1720, when the South Sea stock stood at 1050, a level which only the credulous could believe capable of being sustained.

Although it is clear that the Robinsons were deeply concerned in the dealings, references in the Letters are fragmentary, though they appear to show that being substantial holders of the earlier issues of stock, they quickly became alarmed when the rapid decline of values began, and Sir William decided to dispose of their holdings. A letter from Anne to Tancred, undated but probably written about July 1720, runs:

Dear Brother,

My father got yours and one from my uncle Aislabie this morning, but his hand is so swelled with the gout that he can't write, so is forced to make me do it for him. He desires my uncle Aislabie in a letter I have writ to him just now, to get him to dispose of the subscriptions, since he thinks 'tis for the best, and to advise about the time for the payment of 'em. I am sorry for mine, for if there is a prospect of its rising much higher to be another subscription at £1,200, sure there is a prospect of its rising much higher, but however I'm contented – five and twenty hundred pound is better than nothing.

Yr. affec sister,
Anne Robinson

(NH 2861/2)

As the letter indicates that Anne, who probably had smaller resources than the rest of the family, was expecting such substantial profits, it suggests that the combined holdings of the Robinsons were considerable, while a letter from Sir William to Tancred provides further evidence that the amounts were large,

York

Dear Tanky,

I am scarce able to write yet, or I had given you thanks for your trouble and care you have taken in disposing of your sister's subscription and mine. I hope the money will come in time enough to finish the new house. It costs much more than I expected, the columns, venetian windows, and the two door cases upon a moderate computation amounts to near £200. The masons execute the stone work very well.

Your affec. father

(NH2863/1)

By October Sir William wrote to Tancred in a mood of subdued optimism,

Newby 4 Oct. 1720

Dear Tanky,

I think the resolutions of the South Sea are fair and just and equitable, and hope a good effect will soon be seen, and the face of affairs take another turn. If South Sea should rise and stand at 400, all people ought to be pleased, though some can never, their tempers being unreasonable. You may consult together what's proper to be done, for I decline appearing in any public station, and think of seeing London no more. Your sister is a little grave, but she bears the loss of her subscription, at least to appearance.

Your affec. father

(NH2863/2)

But later in October Sir William was growing critical of the chancellor, and dubious of his own standing in York, writing to Tancred,

York 17 Oct. 1720

Dear Tanky,

I received yours yesterday just as I was coming hither, so ordered Nanny to write to you about the subscriptions, that you have nothing to do but to follow the Chancellor's directions. As your uncle gave us them without our knowledge, so it is fit he should dispose of them as he pleases. Upon second thoughts, I think it most advisable not to mention my thoughts of resigning the service of the City, for the town would be on the wing, I mean the hungry freemen, who already talk of Mr. Duncombe and others. The town is quiet at present.

Your affec. father etc.

(NH 2863/3)

By November Sir William was hoping that parliament would punish the guilty, though it appears that he blamed others rather than Aislabie,

Newby 6 Nov.

Dear Tankey,

I have yours this morning and thank you for pursuing the Chancellor's directions in relation to the two subscriptions, whether for the best or not, must not come into our consideration. I do not expect the rise of stock, for certainly 300 is about the intrinsic value of South Sea, and credit beyond is fallacious, besides vast sums are gone abroad. The Parliament must or ought to make some of the rapacious rogues refund and mark them, and vacate the last two subscriptions by returning the deposit back. After declaring such an extravagant interest for twelve years, they to have no mercy, I believe the Parliament will be very noisy,

to settle matters upon a true foot difficult.

Yours etc.

(NH 2863/5)

In the New Year Aislabie bowed to public clamour by resigning, whereupon Sir William, back in London for his parliamentary duties, in spite of his earlier misgivings, wrote to his son,

London 24 Jan. 1721

Dear Tanky

Now you are gone through the City,¹ I fancy you will think of returning hither. We are busy in making discoveries in relation to the abuses of the Directors. - - - On Sunday your uncle resigned his Chancellorship, which will be executed at present by a judge. It is believed Mr. Walpole will be at the head of the Treasury shortly. - - - I cannot advise you to spend much money (on the election), for our affairs are going wrong, I am afraid.

Your affec. father

(NH 2863/7)

A letter from Anne to her brother Thomas (p.) reported York gossip to him,

I hear nothing talked of but the South Sea, it has made as great confusion and noise as your Mississippi did. Some people have got prodigious estates and are ruined. The Chancellor has got a hundred thousand pound they say, and Mr. Weddell thirty. I do but desire my father may get a little among the hands to build his house with, I should think the South Sea a better foundation than the firmest land in the world. Mr. Waller too has got a great deal, nay in short almost everybody has got something.

(V 13301)

By this time Aislabie was in the Tower, with the mob burning his effigy in the streets, and all his family in Yorkshire deeply anxious. His sister wrote to Thomas,

17 June

Dear Nephew,

Your intention is very kind in giving me hopes and comfort, for indeed I have been in the utmost pain and uneasiness for my dear brother - - - 'tis a great mercy to him and us that he bears up so well under this heavy prosecution - but as you say, I hope the worst is past, tho' bad it is at best. I am very sensible of your readiness to do me any good office, for which you have my hearty thanks - Sir William has been so kind as to let me know how matters went. His letters have been very melancholy and full of concern for your poor uncle, and is a most generous sincere friend to him and his family. I hope you will make my service acceptable to the family in the Tower - I would have writ but am a bad comforter, and they have need of the best to support them. My sister is much to be pitied too. I have them always in my thoughts - be so good as your promise and let me know you get this and how things go. It will oblige

Your most affec. aunt and servant,

E. Aislabie

(Elizabeth)

(V. 13262)

Eventually the scandal subsided, though Aislabie, who had already resigned his chancellorship, was expelled from the House, and made to repay to the South Sea Company over £45,000, an enormous sum, but one which still left him a very wealthy man. During the early stages of the crisis he seemed likely to forfeit his whole estates but eventually he was allowed to keep all those which he had owned before the scheme was launched. He therefore retained the Studley estates, although the house itself, which after a fire in 1716 was in process of being rebuilt at the time of the crisis, was completed to plans which may have suffered curtailment. He used his forced retirement to complete the formal gardens which are still the glory of the park, though the scale of the work was evidently ground for many rumours such as the one quoted by Anne Robinson to her brother Thomas, 'The whole country complains and talks most of the great numbers of workmen who have been employed at S - - - - Park this while' (V 13314)

Sir William, like his brother-in-law, had been building a house when the South Sea crisis came upon them. This was at Newby Park near Topcliffe, and was intended to serve as a country retreat where its owner would enjoy his retirement, but in addition it was to be of such large size and modern style as to reflect the dignity of his family. He

1. In order to secure adoption as parliamentary candidate for York.

wrote to his son Tancred, 'It will be the best house in these parts by much of its bigness.' He entrusted the work to Colen Campbell, a young architect who though not yet fully established was rapidly coming into public favour, who was also producing *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a publication illustrating outstanding achievements of British architecture among which he included some of his own works, including Newby Park. The care which Sir William took to secure that the illustrations of his new house should appear in Campbell's book is evidence that he was anxious that these should be seen by the distinguished subscribers to the costly volume. He instructed his daughter Anne to tell her brother Metcalfe, 'My father wished you would subscribe to Campbell's book and get Newby engraved in it', to which Metcalfe replied,

Mr. Campbell has been out of town ever since you intimated your intention of having Newby put in his new book. Uncle Aislabye (who is still very bad in the gout) has already subscribed for you, but I don't know what to pay Campbell till you let me know what you will have engraved and how many plates, whether you will have 'em as they are now, or as he designed 'em at first, and in the last case I don't know whether he has the small designs still by him, if not, those you have must be sent up: I expect your resolution by the next post, when he will come to town.

(V13397)

Colen Campbell was a young Scot who came to London in 1711, where he quickly found favour with the whig group which was then in political ascendancy under Walpole's leadership. The latter employed him in building his own house at Houghton, and John Aislabye was also one of his early patrons, though the architect was first employed in Yorkshire by the Hothams of Beverley, who also had links with Aislabye. He also built Ebberston Lodge, near Scarborough, for William Thompson, member of parliament for that borough, though this house was built rather in the manner of Vanbrugh than in that of Palladio, the master whose ideas he soon adopted and which quickly brought him into prominence. Indeed Stutchbury's recent work on Campbell 'declares that he regards Newby Park as the first Palladian villa in England and that the Scot takes precedence over Burlington as a mature Palladian'.

References in the Letters indicate that Campbell's method was to make plans and design in London for each section of the house, and as each batch was ready Sir William in Yorkshire deputed his son Metcalfe to look over them, after whose approval they were sent to the York builder Etty who became responsible for the actual building, though he was also much in demand at other places where great houses were being built. On one occasion he had gone to Northumberland 'to Admiral Delaval's to lay the foundation of his house', and on another, 'Etty has been in Lincolnshire about a fortnight. Several want him, he having the whole business, young Thornton being dead, who was ingenious and would soon have equalled his father.' Etty's interpretation of the architect's intentions, the workmen's translation of Etty's instructions, and Sir William's intruding of his own ideas, seem to have been the cause of considerable irritation, to judge from a letter to Metcalfe from his father, 'I came hither (to York) on Saturday and shall stay till Wednesday, being weary of the workmen at Newby', and again,

York

Dear Mett,

I thank you for your letter and desire the drawing of the piement² (pediment) may be sent with the first opportunity. I am obliged to Mr. Campbell and agree with him that workmen study in the first place their own advantage and seldom regard what is proper for the person they build for. I also entirely agree with him that the south front is spoilt, and little or no advantage to the closet or gallery. If I had pursued my own method, all impropriety would have been prevented. But it is too late to talk of past errors.

(V 13575)

When Metcalfe returned to Yorkshire he soon found his father's pre-occupation with the new house a source of serious disagreement, the rift between them reaching such a

2. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell*.

pitch that he reported to his brother Thomas,

My father told me today that I had best remove thence with my baggage, and wonders where I will keep my books or leave anything here, that people can't have the use of the closet. In short, Tom, I am on the point of being turned out of doors every day. - - - Who will take us in, think you? He says I may take a lodging for £10 a year, that he did so in Sir Metcalfe's time. All this in earnest, and why, think you? Forsooth, because if I say nothing when nobody speaks to me (he thinks) I am out of humour and don't like things. If I enter into conversation, he says he never dared to speak before Sir Metcalfe. Besides, if I don't commend possees (sunk hedges), obelisks, galleries, unnecessary levelling, eternally making and taking away of walls, palisades, etc., then I don't like 'em.

(V 13561)

The slow progress of the house also appears to have preyed on Sir William's nerves, strained as they were by many other problems. He was bereft of his wife who died about 1718, and he was racked by crippling attacks of gout, so that he was ill-equipped to meet the difficulty of finding a member of the family to retain one of the parliamentary seats in York, so long held by himself and earlier Robinsons. He had also to face the disgrace of his wife's brother John Aislable in the South Sea disaster, to meet his own financial losses, to help overcome the severe handicap of the deafness which afflicted his eldest son Metcalfe, to underpin the uncertain prospects of his naval son Tancred and his soldier son William in a period of military retrenchment, and to retrieve his scapegoat youngest son John. His disillusionment became so great that he wrote to Metcalfe,

I am very willing to give you the whole estate, for I can look after no business, being lame and out of love with the world. Besides, it suits entirely with my humour to live altogether retired, with one maid and a man and two galloways, allowing me four hundred pound a year. The house will be all finished except the gallery and one room, the park levelled, which cost me above £200. Pray consult your uncle Aislable and cousin Weddell, for I am desirous to quit this foolish world and look after a better. I do not form this resolution out of any peevishness or discontent, but really from a nobler principle. I am so charmed with Dr. Blackall's discourses upon our Saviour's sermon on the mount, that I cannot forbear looking upward. I wish you all happiness, being

Your affectionate father.
William Robinson

(V 13577)

By 1725, with the house completed, he was in calmer mood, telling Metcalfe,

York

Dear Mett,

I can now write tolerably, and am in a fair way of getting abroad. We have bright frosty weather. It is cold, however, the young people walk on the city walls, there are seats placed in the roundels of the walls, and people have stalls, and sell almonds and raisins, figs, china oranges, cakes and drams. Mr. Baldero is fitting up a room over Micklegate Bar for coffee, tea and chocolate.

(V. 13573)

By the end of the same year he was able to describe an almost unbroken round of domestic calm,

Newby

Dear Mett,

I got yours this morning, and am glad you are well in London, and that they are so in Stratton Street. Your sister and Mrs. Notcliff entertain me with coffee or tea, and cards when it is dark. While it is light the new house and planting afford me full employment, so that measuring my time, thus far of winter has passed smoothly enough. How I shall get the remainder over at York, Miss (Anne) will let you know. We go into winter quarters on Thursday. I had removed tomorrow, but Etty has disappointed me in coming over. I desire you will wait on your uncle Governor, and consult him about disposing of your brother Jack to the Indies, we having nobody to assist him now Tom's at Paris. The joiners give over next week, being in hopes of seeing Mr. Campbell next spring at Studley.

Affectionately,
Yrs. W. R.

(V 13842)

It would appear that the near completion of the house was now bringing peace rather than worry to its owner, even though Campbell and Etty were still somewhat elusive, so that the only outstanding problem was that Jack remained to be 'disposed of'. The 'Uncle Governor' was John Aislable's younger brother, who as a director of the East

India Company was well placed to give Jack the opportunity of a fresh start. This indeed he did, but Jack did not make good in his disappointed father's lifetime.

From about the year 1720 Sir William found his daughter almost indispensable, not only during the times when he was suffering from gout, but also when the death of his wife obliged Anne to undertake many household duties, earning her father's praise in a letter to Metcalfe, 'Your sister Nanny proved a notable surgeon and housekeeper, and very diligent with her mother.' In 1733, however, to the obvious surprise of her brothers, she married Thomas Worsley, a widower with a large family. On her departure for Hovingham Metcalfe wrote to his father, 'You will have a great want of her to be sure, and I so much, that I have no notion of being in Yorkshire without her, but if she be happy and continues to be so, we must rejoice disinterestedly in that consideration'.

Anne's departure left Sir William almost alone at Newby for the last three years of his life, though he appears to have retained both interest and influence in the political situation in York, but with diminishing hope that his family would recover representation of the city at Westminster. In spite of recurring attacks of gout and asthma, he had passed his eightieth birthday when he died in 1736.

The Letters make it clear that although Sir William was not a prominent member of the house of commons, he gave unswerving loyalty to the whig leaders and that they fully appreciated the value of his unquestioned standing in the civic life of York. Whereas he held one of the parliamentary seats for an unbroken period of 24 years, covering nine successive parliaments, usually with considerable majorities, the second seat was held over the same period by four different members, Jenkyns, Thompson, Benson and Fairfax. Of these four Jenkyns was of similar standing in York to that of Robinson, though the latter, strengthened by his ties with the Aislabies at Ripon and with the Franklands at Thirsk, was a valued member of the whig oligarchy which was in power for the greater part of the eighteenth century.

Tancred Robinson, younger brother of Sir William, became a student of medicine at Cambridge, achieved his doctorate in 1685 and became a Fellow of the Royal Society, then in its very vigorous youth. Eventually he attained such eminence that he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to George I, from whom he received a knighthood. His scientific interests were wide, as was usual with the scientists of that age, embracing natural history as well as inquiry into volcanic eruptions, geysers and similar phenomena. He was frequently consulted on the Robinson's health, but his letters show that he gave constant advice against over-reliance on medicines. 'Uncle Doctor' came to be regarded as the family oracle, his advice being sought on the South Sea crisis as well as on health problems, though his grand nephew Norton, then degenerating from man about town to chronic alcoholic, being asked by members of the family to call on him in order to present their respects, reported loftily on his visit in condescending terms which yet convey a pleasing picture of his distinguished relative,

25 May 1739

Upon the receipt of your last favour, I determined to visit the Doctor, in order to present your duty and letter, and offer the compliments of the whole family at Newby to that in Norfolk Street, according to your earnest request. I very opportunely found my uncle sunning himself on a bench adjoining the Thames in Somerset Gardens, and holding forth to a circle of antiquated virtuosos and methodical projectors (his coffee house acquaintance I suppose) upon politics, experimental philosophy and a deal of superfluous stuff beside, which save me the trouble of an impertinent intrusion on my own accord.

Upon producing my credentials he invited me to dinner with his usual formality, and after some ceremonial apology was adjusted between the hearty old gentlemen and myself, I was introduced of consequence to his son's table, who, I find, has a considerable share in the management and regulation of his domestic concerns, and was received with abundance of civility.

(NH 2868/27)

The doctor remained at the service of three generations of his family, but wrote in 1745, 'I grow very infirm and weak, doth not sleep; my glass runs very low, but I hope

yours will soon fill and glide many years!' He died in 1746.

Metcalf Robinson, eldest son of Sir William, was born in 1681 but died in infancy, but when a second son was born in 1684, superstition was braved when at the church of St. Michael le Belfry in York he also was christened Metcalfe. The Letters reveal little of his early life, but when he reached the age of 16 'Uncle Doctor' arranged his admission as a commoner to Queen's College, Cambridge, where presently he matriculated but never graduated.

As the eldest son he was brought up with a view to his eventual control of the family estates, and so was not entered into any profession, but travelled a good deal in his younger days. However, he was unable to undertake the Grand Tour then usually carried out by young men of fashion as Europe was devastated by the campaigns of Marlborough against the generals of Louis XIV, though following the victory of Blenheim in 1704 he followed the armies as closely as was prudent. When hostilities declined in 1713 he was able to visit Paris, where there appears to have been so little rancour that he was able to move in socially desirable circles, forecasting that in two or three years there would be a complete French recovery.

He now began to suffer increasingly from deafness, and to complain bitterly of his suffering at the hands of doctors. In an undated letter to his parents he wrote,

8 May (no year)

- - - The doctor attacks me again with Jesuits' powder today in pills. I take 60 and as many tomorrow, and then he says I shall take no more of any of his staff, and eat again and be well.

The chief things other men desire to live for I have given up all hopes of, but yet there are a great many that make me have no desire to die before my time, especially as long as I have my father and you both well. Besides we must be fit for another world before we think of leaving this, which when God almighty will give me the grace of depends on his mercy.

(V. 13481)

In early years his affliction did not prevent him from spending long periods in London or from participating in affairs, as when during an eclipse of the sun, 'he was busy with some of the Royal Society on the leads of Somerset House.' As his father's hopes of retiring to Yorkshire grew stronger, and especially after his ceasing to perform parliamentary duties, Metcalfe wrote to him frequently to keep him abreast of the political situation and also to describe social and court activities, often giving detailed accounts of the dress of the great men he met at the gatherings of London society. His deafness does not appear to have hampered him from obtaining enough coffee house gossip to keep his father well informed. As he grew increasingly immobile Sir William wrote frequently to him during the building of the new house at Newby Park for the purpose of maintaining contact with Colen Campbell the architect.

Metcalf Robinson appears to have been very fond of his younger brother Thomas, the letters of his later years expressing an affection for him in the most unmeasured terms, and it is clear from Thomas's side of the correspondence that Metcalfe's deafness did not impair his brother's confidence in him. Almost invariably Metcalfe's letters to this most scholarly of his brothers were adorned with classical quotations, both Greek and Latin, and many expressed a wish to visit him, first in Paris and later in Vienna, where Thomas's long career in the diplomatic service was spent, but he was always hindered by war or by his ill health.

In spite of those earlier differences between them which have already been mentioned, Sir William and Metcalfe spent much of their last years at Newby Park, the father made inactive by gout and the son troubled by his deafness, with Anne Robinson acting as her father's housekeeper and secretary until she married Thomas Worsley of Hovingham in 1733. When three years later Sir William, now aged 80, suffered his last illness, Metcalfe, faced with the imminent prospect of succeeding to the baronetcy and to the management of the family estates, appears to have been completely overwhelmed at having to assume these new responsibilities, writing to Thomas during his father's last days,

I am already quite undermined with so long a scene of tenderness, anxiety and solicitude, and am so far from not thinking this the most desirable way of going off for my father, that I envy him, and would be glad to be in his place. This is what I have always dreaded.

(NH 2730)

That the other members of the family were apprehensive is clear from a letter to Thomas in Vienna, written by Thomas Worsley, normally a very reluctant correspondent,

26 Dec. 1736

Dear Sir,

My wife wrote to you by the last post to give you an account of Sir William's death. It is with the utmost sorrow that I am obliged to be the messenger of more ill news. Our poor brother Robinson, what with the concern (as there was never any so afflicted) and what with the want of sleep, has thrown himself into so high a fever attended with such ill symptoms as it is thought impossible for him to recover.

This has quite overwhelmed your poor sister, and tho' she has as much strength of mind as most of her sex, yet her tenderness at present gets the better, and it is with the greatest difficulty that I keep her from sinking.

Thos. W.

(NH 2822/1)

The fears were well founded, for within a week of Sir William's death Metcalfe took his own life, and father and son were buried on the same day at Topcliffe church.

It was in these completely unexpected circumstances that Tancred, Sir William's second surviving son, then serving in the fleet as second in command to Admiral Sir John Norris at Lisbon, became head of the family and succeeded to the baronetcy. His father had made a will leaving all the Robinson estates, apart from a few minor bequests, to his eldest son Metcalfe whom he also made his executor, but Metcalfe's own will, made in 1734, left all his possessions to his brother Thomas, and named him as his executor. If both wills were held valid the entire Robinson estates would pass to Thomas, and since Tancred's ill-health made it probable that his active naval career would not be prolonged, it seemed likely that, apart from the half-pay of a rear admiral, he would have few resources with which to sustain his newly acquired baronetcy. As was to be expected, he prepared to contest Metcalfe's will, precipitating a quarrel which kept the brothers apart for the rest of their joint lives.

Most members of the family supported Thomas, who appears to have been popular among them, but Tancred contended that Metcalfe was non compos mentis when he made the will, and that even if the bequest proved valid, it covered only Metcalfe's personal possessions and could not be extended to cover real estate. There was every prospect of a ruinous lawsuit, from which even Thomas's supporters recoiled, and eventually Tancred, while accepting the major part of the estates, was persuaded to allot a substantial part to Thomas, with an adequate annual allowance in cash. However, Tancred was so aggrieved by his loss that he virtually closed the door on his relatives, whom he called the conspiracy, and retired into virtual isolation which endured for many years.

THE DELAMOTTE FAMILY AND A MONUMENT AT SCULCOATES

By M. E. Ingram

The church of St. Mary, Sculcoates, a parish now forming part of Kingston upon Hull, contains an unique monument, unique because the inscription is in shorthand (Plate 1). It records the death in 1761 of Jane, the wife of Charles Delamotte. Charles was descended from Philippe Delamotte (1556-1637) and his wife, Judith des Maistres, who had fled from Tournai in Flanders during the persecution of Protestants by the Duke of Alva. Philippe settled in Southampton, where he became involved in cloth manufacture and was at the same time pastor of the French church there. His son, John, baptized in 1596, was a dyer in his parents' business and married Mary Tiedet in 1622. John and Mary's son, Peter, was born in Southampton in 1634 and married in 1655. He traded from Dice Quay in the parish of St. Dunstan in the East, London. His son, also named Peter, and his second wife, Elizabeth Wickham, were Charles's parents.

Peter Delamotte was a London merchant with a residence and office on the south bank of the Thames at French Wharf, Southwark. In 1732 he had leased Blendon Hall in the parish of Bexley, Kent, from Jacob Sawbridge, who had inherited the estate from John Fisher Brett.¹ Peter was also a magistrate in the county of Kent. Charles was the seventh child of the family and was baptised at St. Dunstan's in the East, London on 2 May 1714. One of his sisters, Elizabeth, received a proposal of marriage from George Whitefield, which she did not accept. Whitefield was a constant visitor to the family and maintained that he had seldom found a happier household, comparing it to that of Martha, Mary and Lazarus at Bethany, and calling the house a 'sweet retreat'.² At first Charles's parents were suspicious of 'enthusiasm' and his mother, who was a critical and strong-minded woman, tried to keep her daughters away from the enthusiasts, saying: 'It is a hard thing that people must have their children seduced by false teaching'.³ On one occasion when Charles Wesley was visiting them he declared that he and others had received 'instantaneous faith'. This was too much for Mrs Delamotte who 'started up declaring that she could not bear it' and rushed out of the house.⁴ She did, however, come under the influence of the writings of William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, and both she, her husband, their younger son and two daughters were eventually converted by Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham.⁵ After his return from Georgia John Wesley frequently visited the family at Blendon, where they conversed, prayed and sang hymns together. On one occasion (5 October 1738) they hired a boat and sailed downstream from London to Greenwich, reading and singing as they travelled. The party included Peter Delamotte, his son William, John Wesley and a Mr Bray; at Blendon they were joined by Kezzy Wesley.⁶

William Delamotte was admitted sizar at St. Catherine's Hall (now St. Catherine's College), Cambridge on 18 May 1736, when his residence was given as Greenwich.⁷ He

1. *Archaeologia Cantiana* v 18 (1889), p. 375; Castells Fol.F. Bexley Heath and Welling, p. 21.

2. *George Whitefield's Journals* (Edinburgh 1978), p. 203.

3. J. Naylor, *Charles Delamotte, John Wesley's Companion* p. 25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

6. N. Curnock (ed.), *The Journal of John Wesley, A.M.* (8 vols. London 1909-16), II, p. 82.

7. J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I to 1751 (1922), p. 29.

was a serious-minded young man and was ready to imbibe the teachings of the Evangelical group. He is said to have been the first Methodist in the university,⁸ where he suffered ridicule from his contemporaries, who 'abused him in the rudest manner'.⁹ At first he had been sceptical but after his conversion was actually forbidden to come to the college, and several students who consorted with him were threatened by their tutor.¹⁰ This does not appear to have deterred him, though there is no indication that he contemplated ordination. On being asked by a colleague why he did not proceed regularly to a degree, to be followed by ordination, he answered: 'If you mean episcopal ordination, I assure you I think that the gospel of Jesus Christ had nothing to do with it'.¹¹ A letter which appeared in the *Weekly Miscellany* on 30 August 1740 under the nom-de-plume 'layman' was highly critical not only of the Methodists but of Delamotte and Ingham in particular, describing them as 'those high pretenders to purity and holiness' and stigmatising William as 'an enthusiastic babbler pouring out effusions of nonsense'.¹²

In 1738 William wrote to John Wesley, thanking him for his prayers, which had been answered in that he had 'enjoyed the fruits of the Holy Spirit ever since. The only uneasiness I find is want of thankfulness and love for so unspeakable a gift', but he was confident that the 'gracious Head which hath communicated will communicate even to the end'.¹³ He eventually became a Moravian and for five years, until his untimely death in 1743, was one of their most ardent and useful preachers.¹⁴ He was buried in the church of St. Dunstan in the East, London. James Hutton said that he had 'preached the gospel with great Blessings and went soon after to the Lamb'.¹⁵

The Mission to Georgia

John Wesley's father, Samuel, had died in 1735 and on his deathbed had charged his son, then aged 32, to go to London, taking a copy of Samuel's *Dissertations on the Book of Job* as a present to Queen Caroline. In London Wesley met Dr. Burton, one of the trustees of the new colony of Georgia, who introduced him to General James Oglethorpe. The colony needed a chaplain to preach to the settlers and to the Indians, and John Wesley was invited to accept the post. He consulted a number of people, including William Law and John Byrom. He was still in his High Church phase and had not fully thought out his position. Moreover, he was not finding full satisfaction from his former religious discipline. He explained his acceptance of the general's offer by saying that it was the hope of saving his own soul, thinking that life in the new country would enable him to clarify his emotions. He hoped to discover 'the true sense of the Gospel by preaching to the heathen'.

Charles Delamotte had a 'mind to leave the World and give himself to God'; and hearing that Wesley was going to Georgia '(although his father would have settled him in a very handsome way) offered to go abroad with him in the capacity of a servant'.¹⁶ However, he was never looked on in that light and was described by Wesley as 'Companion, Fellow Servant and Son in Christ'. Although John Wesley was only 11 years older than Delamotte, he took a fatherly interest in him, so much so that his concern was almost pathetic.¹⁷ When Delamotte was stricken with an ague, Wesley

8. L.E. Elliot-Binns, *The Early Evangelicals* (1955), p. 359.

9. Whitefield, op.cit. in n. 2, p. 291.

10. *Ibid.*

11. L. Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists* (London 1975), p. 116.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Curnock, op.cit. in n. 6, II, p. 113. Another letter probably from him to Wesley is quoted, pp. 109-11.

14. Tyerman, op.cit. in n. 11, p. 85, n.1.

15. Curnock, I, p. 478, n.2.

16. Whitefield, p. 291.

17. Curnock, I, p. 212 (comment by editor under 7 May).

visited him, prayed with him and discussed their religious beliefs. There had been opposition from Charles's family to his going and this may have made Wesley give his protege particular attention. Both parents apparently had the eighteenth-century dislike and distrust of 'enthusiasm' and felt that both their sons had been unsettled by enthusiasts. Charles came from a somewhat delicate family and this may also have influenced his parents, who had first opposed the adventure. It was natural that they should feel that the hazards of an Atlantic journey and the risks of settling in a new country might be too much for their son. Charles was resolute and convinced that God had called him; eventually he gained their consent. His father assisted Captains Gladstone and Garrison in the survey of the ship which the party intended to buy, and assisted in its purchase.

The missionary party left for Georgia in the late autumn of 1735, spending 114 days aboard ship, although only half of that time was taken in crossing the Atlantic. The four companions, Charles Delamotte, Benjamin Ingham, Charles Wesley and John Wesley, embarked on the *Simmonds* from Westminster on 14 October, arrived at Gravesend later that day and remained there for a week. On 18 October Delamotte's father arrived to bid him farewell, now 'fully reconciled... to what, at first, he had vigorously opposed'.¹⁸ General Oglethorpe allotted them two cabins in the forecastle 'as being most convenient for privacy': Ingham and Delamotte shared one and the Wesley brothers the other.

The *Simmonds* left Gravesend on 21 October and sailed round the south-east coast until it passed the fleet at Spithead and anchored in Cowes Roads on 2 November. During this period Delamotte was exceedingly sick for several days.¹⁹ The next day was spent in visiting the Isle of Wight and during this visit the group agreed upon a set of resolutions which they recorded and signed. In order to further their work among the heathen it was necessary that they should be at unity amongst themselves and each must be content to relinquish 'his single judgement to that of the majority'. None should 'undertake ought of importance' without first discussing the matter with the others. If opinions were equally divided, the matter should be decided by lot.

Almost three weeks passed before the man-of-war which was to accompany them arrived on 28 November, and a further three weeks passed before the *Simmonds* left Cowes on 10 December, only to be forced back by contrary winds. The time on board was spent in regular prayers, in reading the scriptures and in studying material relating to the primitive church. Ingham instructed the children, John Wesley spent his time in learning German, his brother in writing, and Delamotte in studying both Greek and navigation. Each evening the four friends met and gave an account of how they had spent the day before retiring for the night. They slept soundly on mats, regarding neither the noise of the waves nor of the sailors. All was not plain sailing, however, as one of the passengers objected to having prayers in the 'great cabin' and they had to 'submit to the inconvenience of holding them below decks'. They were relieved when 'it pleased God to remove him and he left the ship'. On 3 December another resolution was agreed that 'if anyone on being reprov'd or upon any other occasion shall feel any sort of degree of anger or resentment, he shall at the next meeting openly and frankly confess it'.²⁰

On 10 December the *Simmonds* finally left Cowes. On board were 26 Moravians, whose behaviour during a heavy storm impressed the four friends. The ship arrived safely in Georgia on 5 February 1736 and anchored in the Gybee Roads near Gybee Island at the mouth of the River Savannah. The passengers disembarked on the following day. On landing the four missionaries discussed their intended life and began to lead an almost monastic existence, austere and ascetic, living in poverty on the meagre sum which had

18. *Ibid.*, I, p. 111.

19. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 113-14.

20. Tyerman, pp. 70, 71, quoting Ingham's Journal (Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 299).

been sent by the trustees.²¹ Ingham and Charles Wesley remained with General Oglethorpe, who set up his headquarters at Frederica (now Fort Frederica National Monument), on St. Simon Island near the modern town of Brunswick, whilst Delamotte and John Wesley settled in Savannah, 75 miles away. They were joined by Ingham on 28 March and a week later Delamotte and Wesley went to Frederica, leaving Ingham in charge of the church and school until their return on 30 April. It was here that Wesley, assisted by Delamotte, formed a society of what serious persons they could find, 'to meet once or twice a week in order to reprove, instruct and exhort one another' and selected from them 'a more intimate communion'.^{21a}

Georgia had been founded and partly settled by Oglethorpe five years previously, the last British colony in America to be peopled by settlers coming direct from Europe. Dr. Thomas Bray, the respected pioneer in founding the Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel, has been called the spiritual father of Georgia.²² He and his friends organised themselves into a body of associates, and their concern about prison conditions in England led to the establishment of a commission of enquiry under General Oglethorpe, whose interest in 'the underdog' stemmed from his work on this. After Bray's death in 1730 a society known as the 'Incorporation of the Trustees for Establishing a Colony in America' was formed to exploit and nurture a new colony to be called after King George II. Until that time the region had been a no-man's land, sporadically settled by the Spanish and at times a battlefield between them and the French and English.

The peopling of the new colony was to some extent an exercise in philanthropy but not entirely so. It was an attempt to solve the problem of what to do with undesirable people without endangering the society which had produced them, to settle 'poor unfortunates' who might be a drag on the mother country and find a suitable place for them in the life of the colony. It was also an attempt to settle foreign Protestants, Moravians and Salzburgers, who had suffered persecution in their country of origin. Georgia was also to be a buffer state between Carolina, settled by the English in 1670, and Florida, a Spanish possession until 1819.

There was no intention to use slave labour, but it was rather to be a settlement of yeoman farmers, although many of the prospective settlers followed trades, which scarcely made them ideal pioneers. Whilst it was an idealistic state, this kind of paternalism could not go on indefinitely, and it soon became apparent that the settlers were disinclined to live under conditions restricting slavery, land settlement, liquor. Oglethorpe was a man of austere tastes with a high sense of duty and, although 'reluctant to part with the slightest shred' of his power, showed compassion to those committed to his care. Nevertheless his power was limited, since the Trustees in England retained all real authority and, although he was 'in essence the Government' he was 'given little specific power'.²³

This was a time too, when the new state was emerging from its birth pangs and the immigrants were beginning to face the realities of life in their new country. Many were finding difficulty, not only in adapting themselves to the new life of pioneering, viticulture and crop cultivation, but also in coming to terms with the climate. This led to a certain amount of unrest and to the formation of various factions, which John Wesley and his party had to face.

Charles Delamotte in Georgia

A year before the voyage of the *Simmonds* the Trustees had received a donation to

21. Curnock, I, p. 326; VIII, pp. 310-11 (letter to Trustees, 4 March 1737).

21a. Curnock, I, pp. 198-205.

22. H.P. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (1954),

23. K. Coleman, *Colonial Georgia, A History* (1976), ppp. xi, xii.

promote the provision of a catechist in the colony, and in 1735 one of the colonists petitioned for a school to be established there.²⁴ The initial intention had been for Wesley to act as a missionary to the Indians, whilst Delamotte was to undertake the clerical and educational duties.²⁵ Several weeks after landing he had already 'begun to teach a few little orphans'²⁶ and soon afterwards he turned his attention to opening a school in which to teach small children to read, write and cast accounts. This was the first school to be established in the colony.²⁷ In a letter John Wesley describes Delamotte as a 'young gentleman who came with me' and who had 'between thirty and forty in his care'.²⁸ Not only did he teach them in school but 'before and after the daily sessions, catechises the lowest class and endeavours to fix something of what was said in their understanding as well as in their memories'. The evenings were spent in catechising the older children. In fact Delamotte proved to be Georgia's most dedicated instructor.²⁹

Payment from the Trustees for subsistence amounted to £44 4s 4d, but Delamotte received no payment for his work.³⁰ The Trustees seemed unconcerned about his financial position, although on his return to England they voted him £15.³¹ Well might he lament to Wesley after the latter's return (in a postscript to a letter dated 23 February 1738): 'I am poor and in debt, and my not knowing at any one meal where I shall get the next is a great help to thankfulness'.³²

Three weeks after their arrival in Georgia, Wesley and Delamotte joined the Moravians at their lodgings. They had been favourably impressed by the courageous way in which the Moravians had faced possible shipwreck and death during an Atlantic storm. Since they all lived together in a single room during the day, Delamotte and Wesley had further opportunities to observe them and were again impressed by the way in which they interpreted the Gospel in everyday life.³³

In spite of his parents' doubts, Charles Delamotte seems to have survived the rigours of the country. Wesley records an adventure on an expedition to The Cowpens, when the guide proved to be useless: having led them through a creek, he directed them to a cypress swamp which they had to cross, with water breast-high. By that time both Delamotte and the guide were exhausted and, finding their tinder wet, were unable to light a fire. They lay down and soon were frozen in their clothes.³⁴ Both friends got through that ordeal and survived a second adventure only a week later. This time they had to swim their horses across the Canoochee River by the side of a small canoe and, having made a tent from their blankets, slept quietly until morning, notwithstanding the rain.³⁵ When not travelling, the friends prayed and studied together. In September 1736 they began reading Bishop Beveridge's *Pandectae Canonum Conciliorum*, which convinced them 'that both Particular and General Councils may err and have erred'.³⁶

John Wesley's unfortunate involvement with Sophia Christiana Hopkey, niece of the storekeeper and magistrate, Thomas Causton, led to his premature return to England in the autumn of 1737. He had first met 'Miss Sophy', then aged under 18, on 13 March 1736, was continually in her company during the autumn of that year and had dissuaded

24. Ibid., p. 160.

25. S.B. Gober Temple; K. Coleman, *Georgia Journeys* (1961), p. 89.

26. Ibid.

27. Coleman, *op.cit.* in n. 23, p. 160.

28. Curnock, I, p. 322 (letter of 26 February 1737 to Richard Morgan).

29. Coleman, (ed), *A History of Georgia* (1965), p. 37.

30. Curnock, I, p. 326.

31. Coleman, *op.cit.* in n. 23, p. 160.

32. Curnock, VIII, pp. 308-10.

33. Curnock, I, pp. 169-70.

34. Curnock, I, p. 304.

35. Curnock, I, p. 307.

36. Curnock, I, pp. 274-5.

her from marrying Tommy Mellichamp. He had travelled with her on a boat from Savannah to Frederica in the last week of October, alone except for a boy and the crew, camping at night on uninhabited islands. His journal gives a discussion of her character and much justification of his conduct. He was expected by his friends to marry her, but took lots about the marriage on 4 March 1737, the alternatives being: 'Marry; Think not of it this year'; and Think of it no more'. The third lot was drawn for him by Delamotte. On 12 March Miss Hopkey hastily married William Williamson, later Recorder of Savannah and Provost-Marshal in Carolina. The marriage took place without banns at Purrysburg. Wesley went on seeing her and on 7 August, soon after she had miscarried, repelled her from Holy Communion, apparently because he felt that she had deceived him over her relations with Mellichamp and Williamson. On 12 August her father read to his friends all Wesley's letters to Sophy and on 22 August Wesley was charged before a grand jury, when she swore that he 'frequently made several overtures of marriage to this Deponent'. On 1 September the grand jury of 44 found a true bill against Wesley for privately forcing his conversation on her, refusing her communion, altering the church services and other charges. Her relative Mrs Hawkins had previously attacked him with scissors and a pistol. Meanwhile her father wrote to the Trustees that 'when it was heard that the marriage [to Williamson] was intended, Mr. Wesley came to Mrs Causton and discovered with grief and tears that he himself desired to marry her'.³⁷

Delamotte felt that his friend had been ill advised in this affair but, although this led to some estrangement, he remained loyal. Charles Wesley had left Georgia on 26 June 1736 and was followed by Ingham in February 1737, so that John Wesley's departure left Delamotte quite alone. He had advised Wesley to return 'chiefly to prevent or remove the misrepresentations which Mr. Williamson and his wife might spread abroad, since they were to cross the Atlantic on the next ship'.³⁸ The repercussions of the affair were such that on 26 April 1738 the Trustees revoked John Wesley's authority to perform religious services in the colony.

Wesley left Savannah secretly on 2 December 1737. After his departure Delamotte collected his papers, diaries etc. and intercepted him at Beaufort, just over the border in South Carolina. Two days later they both left for Charleston, where they do not appear to have been very welcome: at one plantation they were given a 'few bad potatoes, of which they plainly told us we robbed the swine'.³⁹ From there Wesley sailed for England on 22 December. He described his departure thus: 'I parted from the last of those friends who came with me into America. Mr. Charles Delamotte, from whom I had been but a few days separate since October 14, 1735'.⁴⁰

Delamotte had asked Wesley to call on his parents as soon as he landed to 'tell them that I am well and holding the fort until relief comes'.⁴¹ Wesley cannot have looked forward to this meeting, for it might seem to the Delamottes that he had left their son to shoulder the whole burden and, remembering the reluctance with which they had assented to the enterprise in the first place, the reception of the discredited missionary could have been anything but pleasant. He anticipated something of this. However, the visit went off amicably and he records: 'I came to Mr. Delamotte's house at Blendon, where I expected a cold reception. But God had prepared the way before me, and I no sooner mentioned my name that I was welcomed in such a manner as constrained me

37. W.R. Ward and R.P. Heitzenrater (ed.), *Journals and Diaries I (1735-1758)*, Vol. 18 of *The Works of John Wesley* (Nashville 1988), pp. 183-4, n. 81. See also Curnock, I, pp. 181, 239 f. 289-94, 337, 368, 380, 383, 386-9, VIII, 285.

38. Curnock, I, p. 392.

39. Curnock, I, p. 411.

40. Curnock, I, p. 413.

41. Naylor, *op.cit.* in n. 3, p. 23.

to say "Surely God is in this place, and I knew it not".⁴²

After Wesley's departure Delamotte was left desolate and alone. He continued his work in the school, but was living in abject poverty and at the same time being subject to the insults and misrepresentations of the Hopkey faction. There was no justification for this, since he had not encouraged Wesley but had rather tried to restrain him. A letter which Delamotte wrote to his friend on 23 February 1738 reveals that his position was not only unenviable, but almost intolerable, since the ire and spite which Wesley had aroused was now transferred to his own innocent head: 'Mr Causton still continues the same Man, only more angry than before. I went one day to him about the children, and immediately he sent for the other Magistrates, who, after treating me with some scurrilous language... forbade me ever to have any more prayers at my house etc, adding that my teaching the children was a scandalous thing, who out of pretence of doing good I only made it a cloak to enquire into everybody's private affairs, and that he would write to the Trustees and have me removed'.⁴³

Delamotte not only showed forbearance under intense provocation, but meekly accepted it as a chastening exercise, and so strengthened his resolution not to resign. This further enraged Causton and 'made him publicly declare he would put out all his strength to break the neck of our meeting together'. He then proceeded to meet his fellow magistrates and threatened that if this was ineffective he would 'present me for a public nuisance'.⁴⁴ Although Wesley had left the country, the Causton faction continued to vilify him: 'About a fortnight ago there went a great cry through the streets, "News concerning the Saints". That now there was proof of the Horrid Proceedings of that Monster, Wesley, and his Crew'. Wesley, acting as a priest and confessor, had given absolution to a penitent parishioner who had been guilty of infidelity. This only became known after this return to England but was taken up by his enemies as sufficient proof of his Romish tendencies.⁴⁵ 'What need', they asked, 'have we of further proof of his being a Roman priest, and all his followers Roman Catholics?'.⁴⁶ Delamotte was undismayed by this accusation, but it proved excellent propaganda for Causton who, 'after his usual way' considered that 'something might be made out' and with two accomplices drew up an affidavit 'full of the horridest lies and nonsense that ever were put together'.⁴⁷ Not content with creating this furore, Causton next presented Delamotte to the Grand Jury as a law breaker and for 'raising parties'. The jury treated the matter with the derision which it deserved, making a 'jest of it and said it was nothing but spite and malice against Mr. Wesley'. Delamotte concluded his letter by asking Wesley to pray for him that 'the new cloth of the glorious gospel may not be put into an old garment of a wicked unregenerate heart'.

He continued his work in spite of the unpleasant atmosphere which had developed through no fault of his own, but the time was drawing nigh when he was due to return home. On 7 May George Whitefield arrived at Savannah and 'joined in prayer and thanksgiving' with Delamotte and 'some pious souls', who were 'rejoiced' at his arrival. They spent the rest of the evening 'in taking sweet counsel', and it seemed to Whitefield that Delamotte had been 'providentially left behind in Savannah against my coming'.⁴⁸

42. Curnock, I, p. 432.

43. Curnock, VIII, pp. 308-10.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Whitefield *Banner of Truth*, p. 155. ON 26 February 1737 Whitefield had written to Wesley: 'I hope likewise a second Delamotte will come with us, one who seems to be wonderfully stirred up to leave all and follow Christ', referring to a possible volunteer for the Georgian mission (F. Baker (ed.), *Letters I (1721-1739)*, Vol. 25 of *The Works of John Wesley* (Oxford 1980), p. 505.

It must have been a great pleasure to Delamotte to have a congenial companion once again, and he and the newly arrived evangelist spent some time together. Whitefield soon realised that it was high time that his friend had some respite from the hardships which he had endured, and persuaded him to return home. Delamotte was too poor to afford the passage money, having given away all that he had, but Whitefield was able to raise the necessary funds and on the evening of 2 June 1738 he bade the young missionary goodbye. In his diary Whitefield recorded: 'This evening parted with kind Captain Whiting and my dear friend ... the poor people lamented the loss of him and went to the waterside to take a last farewell. And good reason had they to do so, for he had been indefatigable in feeding Christ's lambs with the sincere milk of the Word and many of them (blessed be God) have grown thereby'.⁴⁹

On 18 November 1738 Charles Wesley recorded in his diary a 'joyful meeting' with Delamotte, who had been invited by his brother, John, to stay with him over the weekend at Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he was a Fellow. It was during this period that Delamotte took the opportunity to warn Wesley after the manner of the Moravians. John Wesley also recorded encounters with Delamotte in September and November 1739 and in April and May 1740.⁵⁰

Charles Delamotte's family and Hull

Sculcoates is a parish on the west bank of the River Hull. In the south its boundary extends to the Liberty of Trippett and to the site of the north walls of the town of Kingston upon Hull. The small village clustered round the diminutive medieval church of St. Mary was situated in the north-east corner of the parish, close to the river bank. It was approached from the north gate of Kingston by a road which followed the windings of the River Hull and is called Wincolmlee.

It was here that in about 1740 Peter Delamotte had established a sugar mill, presumably to refine the products of an estate in Jamaica called Iter Borealis, which is mentioned in his son's will.⁵¹ Sugar refining had been carried out spasmodically at Hull during the seventeenth century, but it was not until 1731 that Godfrey and William Thornton opened a Sugar House in Lime Street on the east bank of the river.⁵² Delamotte built his mill, distinguished by the prefix 'New', in Wincolmlee on the opposite bank.⁵³ It was built on the 'Growths', i.e. mud 'warped up within the ancient bank', and in 1740 was the subject of an inquiry, since it was alleged that the piles on which the mill was built caused currents which damaged the bank and impeded shipping.⁵⁴

Charles must have come to Hull soon after the sugar mill was built at Sculcoates, but there is no actual evidence of his presence until 1743, when he acted as a churchwarden and spent '10s making and lining his pew'.⁵⁵ His involvement in sugar refining provoked a wry comment from John Wesley in a letter to James Hulton: 'I want to hear from C. Delamotte Does his sugar quite swallow him up?'⁵⁶ He must have married soon after his return from Georgia, but the date of his marriage has not been traced. It apparently took

49. Whitefield, p. 157.

50. Curnock, VIII, pp. 163, 164.

51. Lincoln Record Office.

52. *Victoria County History, East Riding of Yorkshire I* (1969), pp. 151, 168, 460. T. Blashill, *Evidences Relating to East Hull*, p. 16.

53. C. Caine (ed.), *Stother's Journal* (1913), p. 41.

54. East Riding Records Office, CSR 20/106.

55. T.T. Wildridge, *Old and New Hull* (1884), p. 144.

56. F. Baker (ed.), *Letters II (1740-1755)*, Vol. 26 of *The Works of John Wesley* (Oxford 1982), pp. 11-12. Wesley wrote from Bristol on 12 April 1740. The Fulneck records mention a firm supplying sugars and treacles to their newly established shop there in 1762 (inf. Mrs R. Strong).

place at Hull, possibly in 1743, according to his father's MS notes. His wife was Jane Carnegie, the daughter of the second son of the third Earl of Northesk and so a niece of the Duke of Montrose. The family consisted of three sons and seven daughters. The baptisms of the sons do not appear in the Sculcoates parish registers, but their burials are recorded: Peter, the eldest, in 1745; Charles in 1749; and William in 1754. The daughters' baptisms are recorded in an omnibus entry under 1743, followed by the note: 'The above children of Mr. Delamotte not entered in their proper Places. The dates taken from Mr. Delamotte's own memorandums, as they were privately baptized but not received in the Church'. The dates of their baptisms were: Mary on 14 September 1743; Hope on 5 October 1744; Jane, 25 October 1747; Charlotte, 1 October 1757; Betsey, 23 November 1758; and Henrietta, 3 January 1761.⁵⁷

It was in about 1740 that Charles became a Moravian and in 1763 he applied to Fulneck, the Moravian settlement near Pudsey, to have his three youngest daughters brought up in the Children's Oeconomy there. They were received in the following year after he had signed a declaration promising not to remove them from the Oeconomy without the assent 'of those who have the Inspection thereof'. They were later joined by Charlotte. The Fulneck settlement had been supported by Benjamin Ingham, who had become a Moravian and married Lady Margaret Hastings in 1741. He later adopted Sandemanian views and died in 1772.

Moravian policy was not directed towards obtaining recruits but rather were its members encouraged to take an active part in the affairs of the parish in which they lived. This Delamotte carried out to the full. On 4 October 1743 he and his fellow churchwarden, Frances Burnham, were presented at the archdeacon's visitation, 'the church being out of repair'. They reappeared on 17 May in 1744 to report that 'the church is now in very good Repair'.⁵⁸

Some fourteen years later it was decided to rebuild the church, owing to the 'great Increase of Inhabitants', due to the expansion of Hull.⁵⁹ Delamotte took an active part in the work, petitioning for a faculty, applying for a brief, to the cost of which he contributed a guinea, and in 1763, in order to complete the furnishing of the interior, he, together with his fellow churchwarden, William Osbourne, and the vicar, John Clark, each advanced £50 at 'an interest of 4½% for the finishing'. The new church, whose architect is unknown, was a sober version of Rococo Gothick, its arcades supported by Tuscan pillars.⁶⁰ Delamotte's pew was on the south side of the middle aisle and provided ten places, for which he paid £2 10s.

It was during Delamotte's sojourn in Hull that John Wesley made his second visit to the town in 1759. He was staying in the house of Thomas Snowden in the High Street and recorded: 'At night Charles Delamotte called upon me and seemed to be the same loving, simple man still. I should not repent my journey to Hull were it only for this short interview'.⁶¹ Delamotte's residence at that time is unknown. He probably lived in one of the new streets which were beginning to grow up in the southern end of Sculcoates, close to its boundary with Hull.

Jane Delamotte's Monument

The monument is not *in situ*, since it is placed on the south clerestory wall of the

57. M.E. Ingram (ed.), *Sculcoates Part I (1538-1772)*, *Yorkshire Parish Registers Society* 1959, Vol CXXIII pp. 62, 63, 64, 68, 76, 88.

58. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Rvi. 10.

59. East Riding Record Office, Pe 46/8.

60. M.E. Ingram, 'The Georgian Church of St. Mary, Sculcoates', *Georgian Society of East Yorkshire* IV, pt. ii (1955-6), pp. 56-71.

61. Curnock, IV, p. 331.

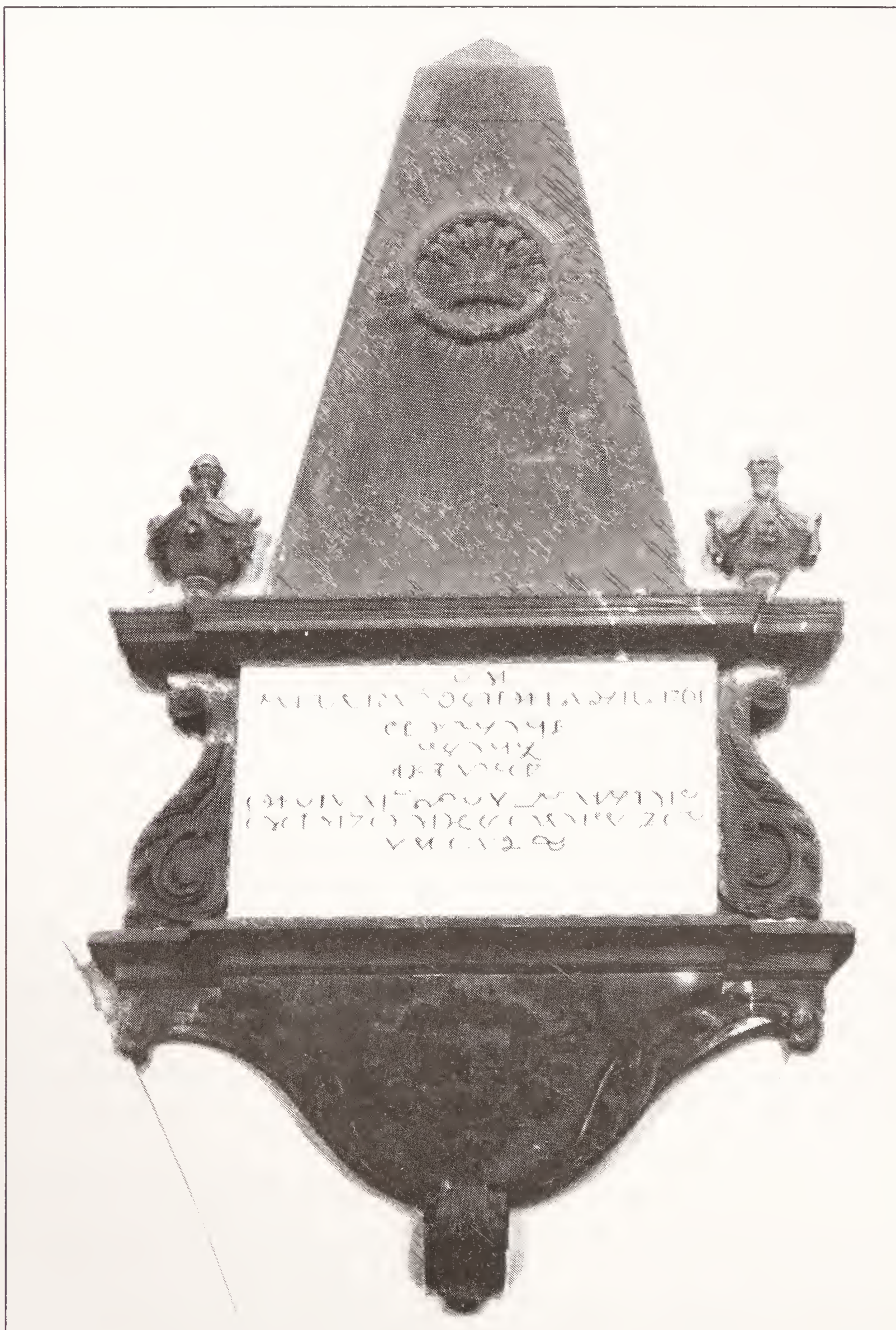


Plate 1. St. Mary's Church, Sculcoates: monument to Jane Delamotte.

present church which was designed by Temple Moore and consecrated in 1916 to replace on a new site the church erected in 1759. It consists of a white marble tablet set against a dark freestone background, which rises to a stunted obelisk near the top of which is a celestial crown in a blaze of glory (Plate 1). The tablet is flanked by consoles and draped urns stand on either side on the cornice above it. Below is a cartouche, the dexter side of which is blank (for Delamotte), impaling on the sinister side, quarterly: 1 and 4 (or) an eagle displayed (azure), beaked and membered (sable); 2 and 3 (argent) a pale (gules) (for Carnegie, Earls of Northesk). The inscription, when transcribed, reads:

Beneath this stone lies the body of Mistress Jane Delamotte
who departed this life January tenth 1761.
She was a poor sinner but not wicked
Ungodly but not unrighteous
Without holiness proceeding from good works
And departed in the faith of the Catholic church,
In full assurance of eternal happiness, by the agony
And bloody sweat, by the cross and passion, by the precious
death and burial, by the glorious resurrection and ascension
Of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ Amen.

It would be sheer speculation to suggest why shorthand, unintelligible to most people, was used for the inscription. It may have been due to an exaggerated idea of Christian humility. The shorthand is that devised by John Byrom of Manchester (1692-1773). This was an improvement on earlier attempts at stenography, and it became fashionable to use it as a kind of secret code for memoranda and private diaries. Delamotte's name does not occur in extant lists of Byrom's pupils, although this does not preclude his being numbered among them. However, John Wesley was one.

The inscription is couched in typical Moravian terms with antithetical phrases expressing the doctrine of justification by faith and imputed righteousness, with the corollary that a priesthood was not needed to meditate between man and his Maker. Jane died in the faith of the Reformed Catholic church as set out in Anglican teaching, and this is underlined by the quotation of versicles from the Prayer Book Litany, which also reflect the Moravian cult of the physical accompaniments of the Passion and express their devotion to this. She probably died after childbirth, since the baptism of her daughter, Henrietta, is recorded in the register a few days before the date given for Jane's death, although the date of the baptism does not necessarily mean that she was born at that time.

A transcription of the inscription appeared in Tickell's *History of Hull* in 1796, and in 1886 a Henry Starkey submitted it to (Sir) Isaac Pitman of Bath, who identified it as being composed in Byrom's shorthand and produced the rendering given above.⁶² Starkey's letter appeared in the *Observer* for 15 November 1922 and suggests that the lady might have been involved in some scandal and that this was the reason for the use of shorthand. There is no evidence that this was so and the suggestion appears to be a piece of romanticism. Had this been the case it would most likely have been remarked on by Tickell when he published his history some 35 years after Jane's death, but he printed the inscription without comment.

Epilogue

Delamotte's sugar refining business operated until about 1770, for part of the time in partnership as Delamotte, Beel & Co., and was sold to Francis Bine, a master mariner

62. *Phonetic Journal*, 20.ii. 1886.

and whaler owner. He or his executors sold it *c.*1790 to Messrs Bassano, Carlill, Boyes and Levett, sugar boilers.⁶³ The exact date when Charles left Hull for Barrow upon Humber in north Lincolnshire is unknown. The last time that he served as churchwarden at Sculcoates was 1770, when he attended a visitation at Beverley as 'Old Churchwarden'.⁶⁴ He probably moved to Barrow soon afterwards. An undated note in the Sculcoates Pewage Book against his name says: 'This seat was given up to the parish by Mr. Bine on his purchasing the Sugar House'.⁶⁵ Delamotte did, however, retain some small share in the sugar business.

In 1782, during his residence at Barrow, he received a second visit from John Wesley, who recorded: 'I preached in the new house at Barrow. I was well pleased to meet my old fellow traveller, Charles Delamotte, here. He gave me an invitation to lodge at his house which I willingly accepted of. He seemed just the same as when we lodged together, five and forty years ago. Only he complained of the infirmities of old age, of which through the mercy of God I know nothing of'.⁶⁶ Delamotte was then 68 and Wesley aged 79. The meeting took place on 16 May.

Several years after this meeting, Delamotte married Elizabeth Gray, the mother of the Reverend George Gray, vicar of Laceby near Grimsby. She died in 1790 and was buried at Barrow. For some time after her death Delamotte lived with one of her daughters and then moved to Laceby to be with his daughter, Elizabeth, the wife of the incumbent. He died there on 14 April 1796, having outlived his three companions on the mission to Georgia, and was buried in Aylesby churchyard. His gravestone, a thick sandstone slab with a plain segmental head, is close to the chancel of the church on the south side. The inscription reads:

CHARLES DELAMOTTE

Departed this Life the 14th day of April 1796

act. suae 82

Farewell dear friends, to me it matters not
By whom respected, or by whom forgot;
A sinner born I was, and quite undone,
But for the love of God's beloved son.
In Jesus' arms I lay my soul to rest:
In Jesus' blood, I trust I shall be blest;
Oh God the Son impute Thy Righteousness
To be my glorious robe and only dress;
For holiness I've not except in Thee;
Accept that holiness Oh God, for me
The best of works can never justify
They prove a faith on which we may rely
T'is not the gift which satisfies the deed
But love of God from which they do proceed
Now faith and hope are ceased. I die in love
To sing Thy praise with all the saints above

Resurgam

Halleyluyah

In his will Delamotte made several bequests to his daughters, Christiana and Betsy, who were also named as his residuary legatees, and here Betsy is given her full name of Elizabeth Maria. The bequests mention his interest in a plantation 'Iter Borealis in the island of Jamaica', but it would seem that these bequests could not be completely carried out, since George Gray, his son-in-law and executor, appeared and testified that

63. G. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford 1972), p. 197.

64. Borthwick Institute, Rvi. B15.

65. East Riding Record Office, P.E. 46/88.

66. Curnock, VI, 353.

Delamotte's property did not amount in value to £5.⁶⁷

We may conclude by quoting Naylor's assessment of Charles Delamotte: 'He could be firm and even stern, but he was kind, patient and self-effacing. Although born to a position, comfort and pleasant prospects he chose and resolutely followed the path of privation and hardship in sympathy with the lowly and poor. He was a friend of children and started a ragged school forty years before Raikes. A pioneer layman. At a critical point he helped to keep Wesley straight and true. By the grace of God he combined in himself, in his creed and in his work the valuable elements of the Huguenot, the Moravian and the Methodist'.⁶⁸

Acknowledgements

Miss J. P. le Cluse, who supplied useful information regarding the family and read through the typescript. Also Lt. Col. J. C. Wood, J. Walsh, Miss J. Halton, Rev. J. Reynolds, Mrs R. Strong and Mrs B. Scott, who supplied useful background information.

APPENDIX.

Correspondence between Charles Delamotte and John Gambold.⁶⁹

The same sentiments as those expressed on his wife's monument appear in a letter from Delamotte to John Gambold, written from Hull almost a year after Jane's death, whilst Charles was still labouring under the burden of his bereavement. He was in a depressed state and the letter is a veritable 'cri de coeur' from a tortured soul and very conscious of his inadequacy. Again he breaks into the phrases of the Prayer Book Litany which he had quoted on his wife's monument.

Hull, Dec. 17th 1761

Dear Brother Gambold,

I take the liberty to call you brother, being children of the same Father by the new Covenant that is in Jesus Christ our Lord. I don't know how it is, but I can't help telling you what an amazing Cloud has of late overshadow'd my mind and given me a deep sense of my own unworthiness, littleness and the corruption of human nature, that I am now ashamed of all my great achievements in the Christian Warfare, as well as of my great knowledge of the holy Scriptures; and all my Faith and Hope centers in a kind Saviour, in the dear Redeemer's Blood and Wounds who was bruised for our Transgressions, and nothing but his Agony and bloody Sweat, his Cross and Passion, his Death and Resurrection could ever expiate such horrid Guilt. Oh may I now and for ever feel my self a poor Sinner. I wish for Nothing neither do I desire anything else, and to my great surprise I keep continually thinking that I will scrouge in, if haply I could find a vacant corner among the Brethren, the worst place among them will content me. I long to know if you ever experienced this Guilt and Shame that makes all things but dung and dross and the whole Heart and Will and affections satisfied with what the dear Lamb of God has purchased and promised to give such poor children that feel the necessity of such a kind Mediator. My hearty love attends you and your whole House. I salute all the Brethren that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and Truth and remain in union with you all an affectionate Brother and Servant.

Cha: Delamotte

On the back of this letter is the rough draft of Gambold's reply:

Dear Sir,

A poor state of health and other impediments have been the reason of my hitherto not answering your affectionate letter which I received so long ago. Otherwise I could not be indifferent about what passes in a soul (were it even one of which I had no personal respect before) who is under the necessary tasting of its own sinfulness, yea of the sinfulness and deficiency of our best thinking and excited at the same time to pant and wait (with a mixture of joy and smart) for a kind look from the Saviour. I have known pretty much of that state myself; it arises from trouble and the nature of the thing. And the best advice therein is to proceed simply as we discover the case to be with us; and in time to believe that we really are such as He shows us to be and to fly to, lay hold on, and give ourselves to Christ in order that He may cleanse, bless, fill and dwell in us

67. Lincoln Record Office.

68. Naylor, *op.cit.* in n.3, p.

69. Elliot-Binns, *op.cit.* in n.8, p. 266. John Gambold (1711-71) was ordained in 1733 and became vicar of Stanton Harcourt near Oxford. Kezziah Wesley lodged with him and his sister. In 1742 he joined the Moravians and in 1754 was consecrated as a bishop in that church.

henceforth even as He shows us by His light that is entirely the only means of our relief and also makes a sincere offer of it unto us. This is all I can say in a matter which is rather practical than problematic or theoretic and requires execution than descanting. But I need not excuse the brevity of my advice; for indeed I do not think that casuistry was the thing you looked for from me or any mortal man: you would only acquaint me with the best news you could possibly tell me and which I would be sure to rejoice at and to take them in the process and event even as if it were my own wellbeing that was at stake. And this I accordingly do. I heartily wish you the richest taste of our Lord's love and a thorough enjoyment of all that He knows to be wholesome and would confer upon and work in you perhaps at this time. You know us brethren very well; we are ourselves only helpless sinners but have found refuge and grace in His wounds and therefore we are always glad when anyone else makes the same experiment and becomes partaker of our asylum. How much more glad, should it be an old friend and acquaintance?

NAILMAKERS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS IN THE COMMUNITY OF DARTON PARISH AND TOWNSHIP

By Harold Taylor

Introduction

Nails were still being made by hand in a small, stone-built workshop at Mapplewell as late as 1943. The operative, Ibberson Haigh, was the very last representative of a long tradition of nailmaking in the Mapplewell and Staincross area of the ancient parish of Darton, which lay immediately to the north-west of Barnsley, and which is illustrated in Figure 1. Well established by the seventeenth century, there had been a remarkable growth of nailmaking here during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the labour force continued to grow until around 1860. These two villages in Darton Township lay at the northern extremity of the area of small metal manufactures which extended southwards as far as the Belper area of Derbyshire.¹ By the 1860's Mapplewell stood out almost alone as a major concentration of hand-made nail manufacture in this region. The 1841 Census revealed that no fewer than 138 out of the 282 heads of household or heads of families within households in the Mapplewell-Staincross area of Darton Township were engaged in nailmaking, compared with only 28 in coal mining and 37 in agriculture. As late as 1871 there were still 221 nailmaker families here. Though they were outnumbered by colliery workers by that time, they nevertheless maintained their distinctive working customs and life-style. By 1881 the number of nailmaker families had fallen to 142 and the decline would continue, but the last of the businesses which inherited the traditions of the old nailmaking industry, and which may be called their successors, survived in Mapplewell and Staincross until the 1960's.

Throughout this long story, the inventiveness and adaptability of the small nailmasters and their workers had much to do with the reasons for survival. Thus the introduction of new products to tap fresh markets and the fashioning of new tools to make the new products enabled the small businesses to carry on, despite the crisis caused by the introduction of "cut-nails" onto the market. Whilst nails always featured among the products, local workshops had turned out a variety of small metal articles since the late eighteenth century at least. In the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries nails-mainly "muck nails" (used in foundries to strengthen the sand moulds prior to casting) – represented a very minor part of the output compared with "chaplets" and "studs" (also used to support and strengthen the sand moulds) and steel teeth for rag-shredding. Nevertheless the terms "nailmaker" and "nailshop" die hard.

This study examines the role of small metal manufacture among the other occupations in this industrial community over a period of about 300 years.

Nailmakers in the community of the eighteenth century

The Hearth Tax of 1672 identifies 10 out of the listed 65 households in Darton Township as forge owners, three of them possessing more than one forge. Already most of the forges – as well as the largest number of families – were there, rather than in the other two townships, Kexborough and Barugh, which contained only four and two forge owners respectively.² Property deeds and Quarter Sessions records show that three of

1. D. G. Hey: *"The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region"*. Leic. U.P. 1972. p. 32.

2. Hearth Tax Returns W. R. Yorks. 1672. Wakefield Archives.

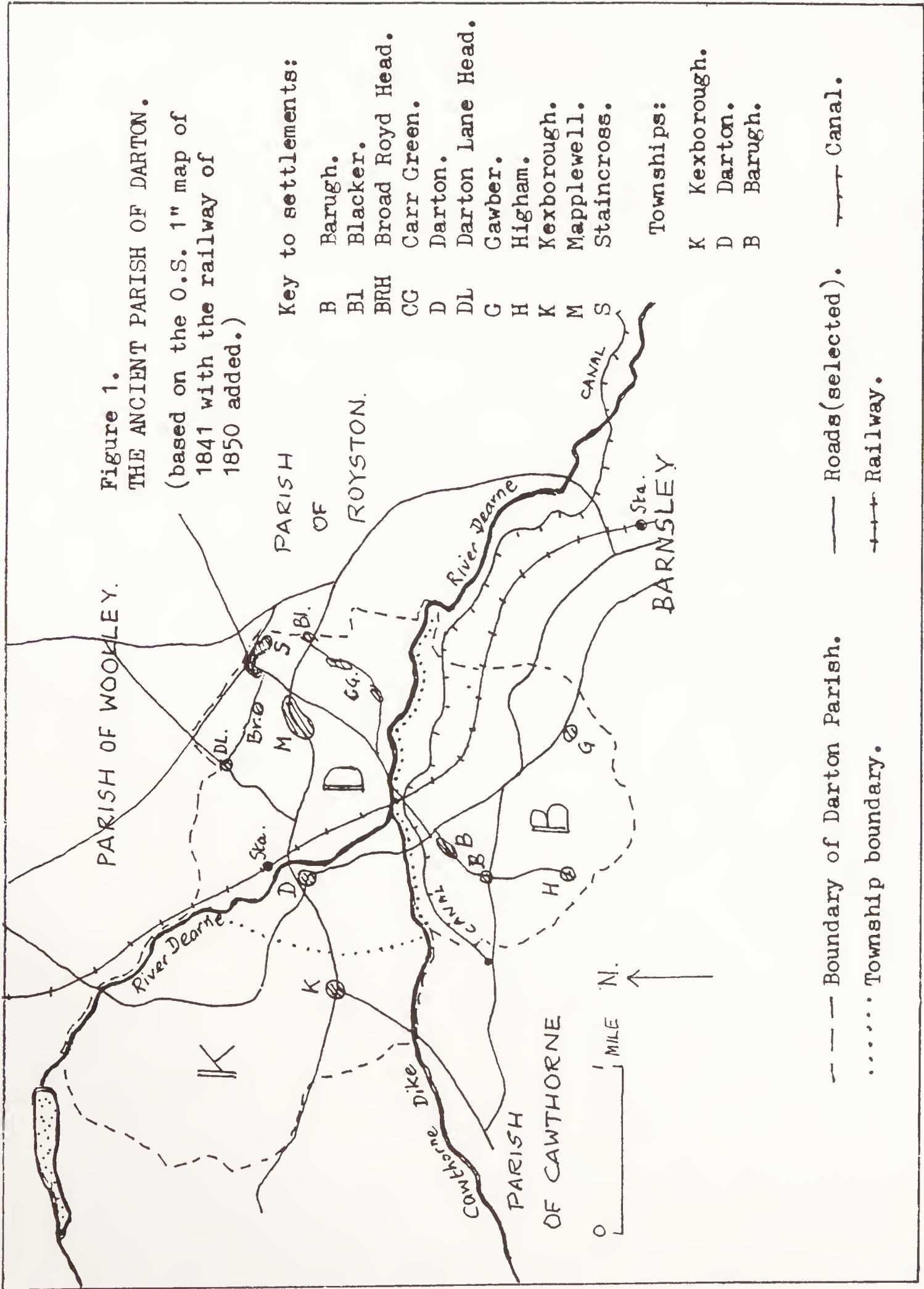


Fig. 1. The parish of Darton.

the forge owners in Darton Township actually lived in Mapplewell and all three are identified as nailmakers.³ For the other seven it may be assumed that some at least were also nailmakers rather than blacksmiths. It is likely that there were other families engaged in nailmaking in addition to those who owned forges. Such a concentration of nailmakers in outlying hamlets of a parish rather than in the parent village is repeated in some of the other parishes of the region. Here the eastern part of the ancient Parish of Darton contained a loosely-knit group of hamlets, Mapplewell being the largest.

The community of Darton Township in the first half of the eighteenth century contained not only nailmakers but other craftsmen too, such as weavers, carpenters, masons and cordwainers, as well as yeomen farmers, husbandmen and labourers. The 43 inventories – some with wills – which survive from this period for the parish of Darton include but three nailmakers, though in addition there is one will without an inventory.⁴ Even the small sample available does, however, indicate considerable variations in the level of prosperity among the nailmakers here. Parish registers record the existence of at least eight other families engaged in the craft during this time. They may well have been among the poorest members of the community.

The inventory of John Spark, who died at Staincross in April 1726, hints at a modest level of prosperity, for his possessions included a clock and case, a “seeing glass”, and a silver cup valued at one guinea. Spark was no mere nailmaker, however. He was also a chapman, bringing rod iron in quantity from slitting mills at Wortley and Rotherham. Among his possessions were load saddles and four horses, necessary for his journeys over the rough roads and tracks of his day. Records for the Rotherham mill alone show that he purchased rod iron worth over £525 between 1696 and 1700.⁵ He would be well known in his own parish and perhaps this accounts for the naming of the road leading into Mapplewell from the south as Spark Lane.

In common with many other craftsmen of the period he combined the activities as nailmaker/chapman with husbandry on a small scale. His inventory lists 6 sheep, 3 lambs and 3 cows, which may well have been grazed on the neighbouring and extensive Staincross Common, but he appears to have rented land too, for he had “corn sown on the ground” and a plough and harrow to cultivate it. In his “Farr Room” were two spinning wheels and a cheese press, whilst in the dairy were churns, tubs, casks and bowls for butter making. As for his nailmaking, his “Smithy tools” comprised a pair of bellows, 4 hammers, 3 “stiddys” (small anvils) and two pairs of tongs.

A will of 1749 identifies a member of a still more prosperous nailmaker/farmer family. George Shaw, who died at Staincross in that year, is described in the will as “Yeoman” but his son as a nailmaker. Although there is no inventory to provide details, the wording of the will implies a comfortable standard of living, “trusting that” the son and heir will provide the widow with “meat, drink and clothes proper to her age and quality”. Should she choose to leave the family home, the son is to “provide for her a room handsomely furnished”. The Shaws were master nailmakers, owning workshops at Staincross. Another member of the family, a Joseph Shaw, was fined at the Darton Court Leet and Baron in 1750 for erecting a “shop or smithy” on common land at Staincross without the permission of the Lord of the Manor.⁶ George Shaw had also established an ironmonger’s business in Leeds, so that his family may well have played an important rôle in marketing the produce of Mapplewell and Staincross nailshops. Perhaps the naming of Shaw Lane, which leads into Staincross from the north, again reflects the prominence of a local family among the nailmaking community.

3. John Goodchild Collection, Wakefield.

4. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.

5. D. G. Hey. *Opus Cit.* p. 38.

6. Wentworth/Woolley Collection, Brotherton Lib., Univ. of Leeds. Box 22/1.

William Drury, blacksmith-nailmaker of Barugh, who died in 1714, was considerably poorer than Spark, at least on the evidence of his inventory, his possessions being valued at between £11 and £12, compared with the £43 of Spark. His will identifies him as a tenant farmer, though he possessed only five sheep and a cow at the time of his death and his inventory mentions no crops.

Another poor nailer was Thomas Ledger, whose personal estate was valued in 1746 at only £9-5-0. His living accommodation appears to have been simpler than that of Drury, comprising only "house" (living room), "shop", and "Little Room" (a store). The inventory carefully details his nailmaking equipment as "Bellows and Anvile, Steddys and Hammers and 14 Naile tools". There were "7 bunches of iron" in the "Little Room".

It is not possible to make detailed comparisons between these nailmakers and the other parishioners whose wills and inventories have survived; the difficulties associated with the interpretation of these types of document are well known. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Shaw family of Staincross enjoyed a standard of living similar to that of the wealthier yeoman farmers and that John Spark could be compared with the more prosperous of the craftsmen-farmers, such as the cordwainer John Moorhouse, who died in 1713. John Drury, on the other hand, compares more closely with some of the poorer craftsmen-farmers, such as the weaver John Bedford, who died in 1703, whereas Thomas Ledger belonged to a still less prosperous group of parishioners.

Other sources cast some light on the role of husbandry in the economy of nailmakers here during the second half of the eighteenth century. A conveyance deed of May 1785 describes members of the Ledger family at Mapplewell as tenants of dwellings with rights of commoning, together with "barns, workshops, foldstead and gardens" and over 5 acres of land.⁷ A George Ledger appears on a list of those who paid tythes on sheep and lambs between 1755 and 1763, along with two other nailmakers. Significantly, however, 18 other nailmakers known to have been living in the Parish at that time do not appear on the list.⁸ It seems likely that they were living in cottages which did not carry ancient rights of pasturing on the common lands. It will be shown later that in-migration was swelling the population during this half century and it may be that such new members of the nailmaking fraternity relied upon their craft for an income and did not practice husbandry.

The growth of the nailmaker workforce

From 1713 the Darton parish register of baptisms begins to record the occupation of the father, though there are numerous omissions, and the information which the register provides is shown in graph form as Figure 2. Unfortunately it is not possible to isolate the entries for Darton Township, let alone those for Staincross and Mapplewell, in order to show the true importance of nailmaking in relation to other occupations there.

There are other difficulties too which make for uncertainty in the interpretation of the data. Some of the farmers may well have participated in nailmaking during slack periods on the farm without regarding themselves as nailmakers by trade. A parallel case is provided by the will and inventory of John Hutchinson of Oaks Farm, Darton, a yeoman whose possessions in 1720 included "one large Coale Pitt rope and a little rope", but who identified himself as a farmer. In fact only one coal miner is identified in the register of baptisms between 1713 and 1772 (and that in 1743), yet there were eight easily accessible coal seams available in the Mapplewell and Staincross area alone. One suspects that John Hutchinson was not the only parishioner who combined coal mining with some other occupation. Similarly there may be nailmakers who are "hidden"

7. W. Yorks. Reg. of Deeds: C R 40 60.

8. Archives of Yorks. Arch. Soc. Leeds. D D 70, Bundle 98.

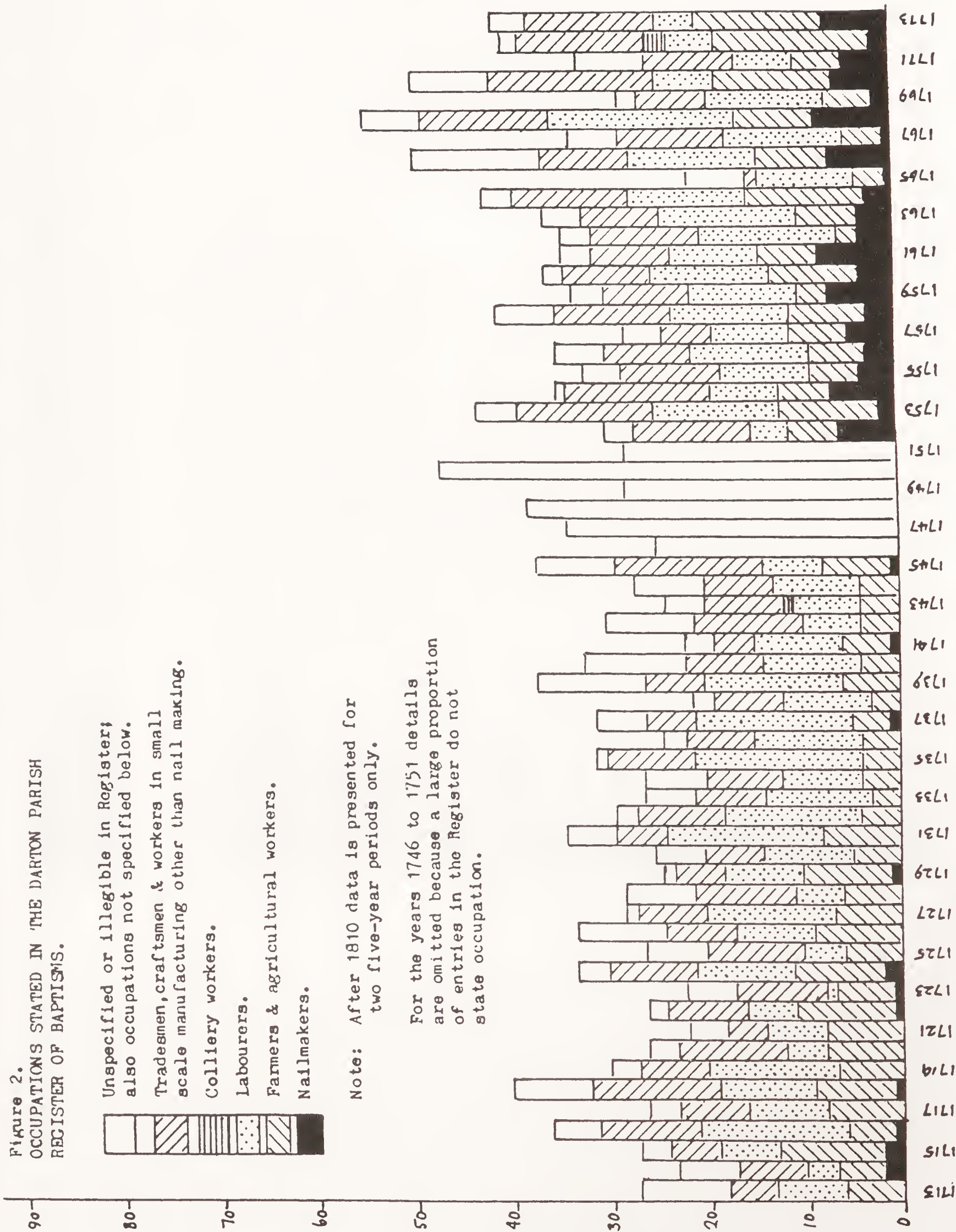
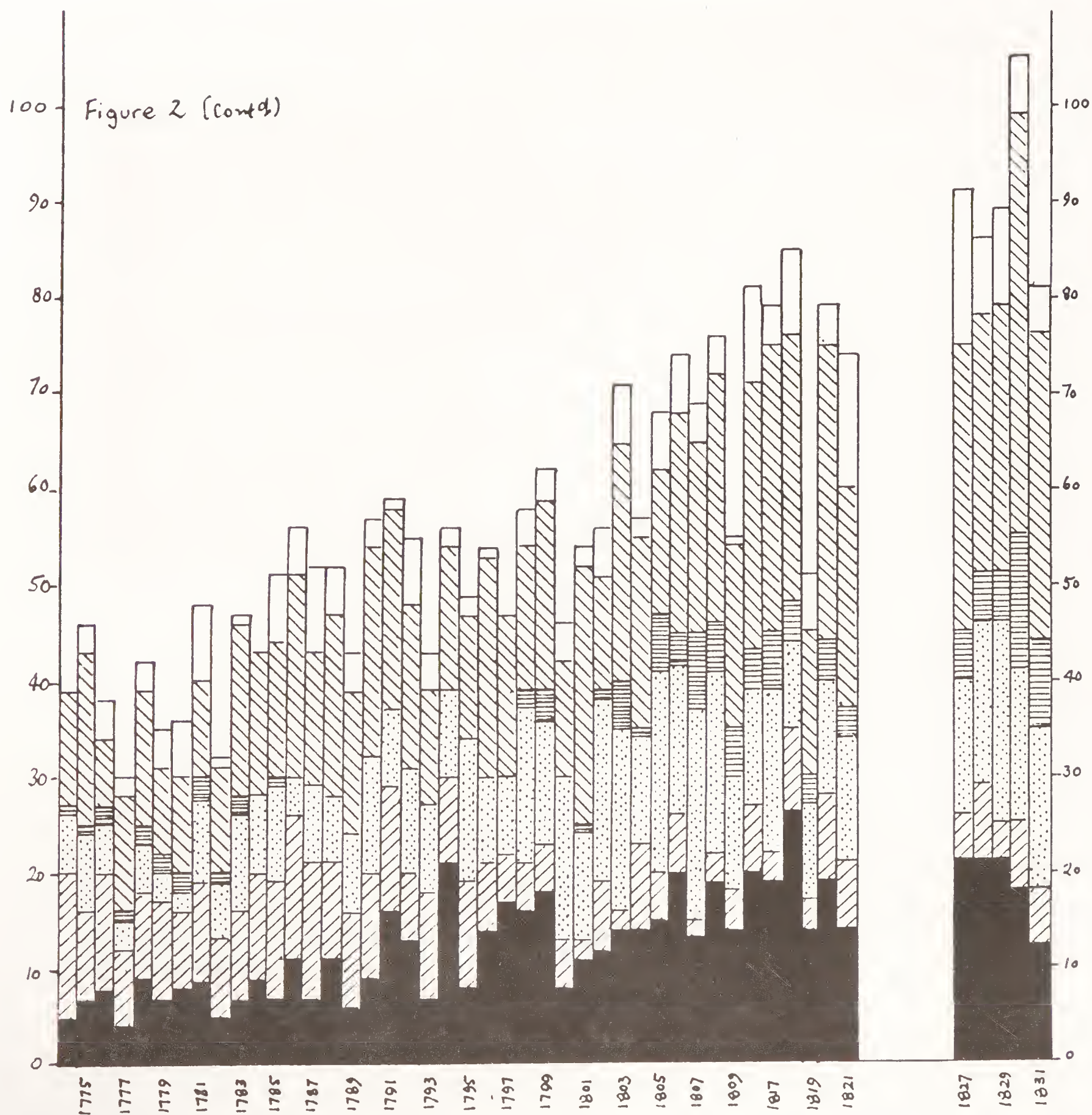


Fig. 2. Bar-graphs of occupations as stated in the Baptismal Register for Darton parish.



among the records in this way.

The presence of dissenters in the parish may have led to the under-registration of nailmakers' children, for there were 14 dissenting families here in 1743 according to the report of Archbishop Herring's Visitation.⁹ Some nailmakers were Quakers, whilst others were among the first Methodists at Staincross and Mapplewell.¹⁰ Baptismal registers of two Methodist chapels in Barnsley reveal that several families of nailmakers took their children there rather than to the parish church in the forty years or so after 1797 but there are no earlier records of such arrangements.¹¹

It will be seen from Figure 2 that the Darton register in the first half of the eighteenth

9. Published in Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record series.

10. Dearnley: *Hist. of the Ancient Parish of Darton*. (M.S.) Barnsley Local Studies Library. From p. 264.

11. Register of Bap. & Burials at Westgate Meth. Chapel, Barnsley 1797-1836. Sheffield Archives: R.94-2809. New St. Chapel, Barnsley from 1802. Sheffield Archives: 344/K1/2.

century, and even beyond the mid-point, does little more than indicate that nailmakers were present and probably in relatively small numbers. During the second half of the century, however, the evidence points to a marked increase in the number of families engaged in nailmaking here. It is true that the number of times that nailmakers appear in the register of baptisms reflects in part the fecundity of particular parents (and may also be distorted by delayed multiple baptisms). It is possible, however, to check for this factor by recording the number of different families engaged in nailmaking in the register over successive ten year periods. The table below shows the totals:

1715-24	5	1745-54	Incomplete data	1765-74	22
1725-34	1	1755-64	15	1775-84	34
1735-44	2			1785-94	41
				1795-1804	53

This increase in the number of nailmakers took place against a background of marked population growth in the Parish. Archbishop Herring's estimate of 140 families in 1743 might have represented a population of between six and seven hundred, but by 1801, at the first Census, the total was 1,699, and by 1831 it reached 2,960. The bar graphs in Figure 2(b) illustrate the total number of baptisms and burials recorded in the parish registers through a great part of this period. Expressed as ten year totals, it is clear that the widening gap between baptisms and burials was due to the large and progressive increase in the number of baptisms. It is possible that this was caused by continued in-migration to the parish of predominantly young adults, including women in their child-bearing years. This younger population might be reflected in the totals of burials, which indeed remained relatively steady. Of the large increase in population, however, there is no doubt, and there is firm evidence in the parish registers that some of the in-migrants who contributed to this increase worked in the nailshops.

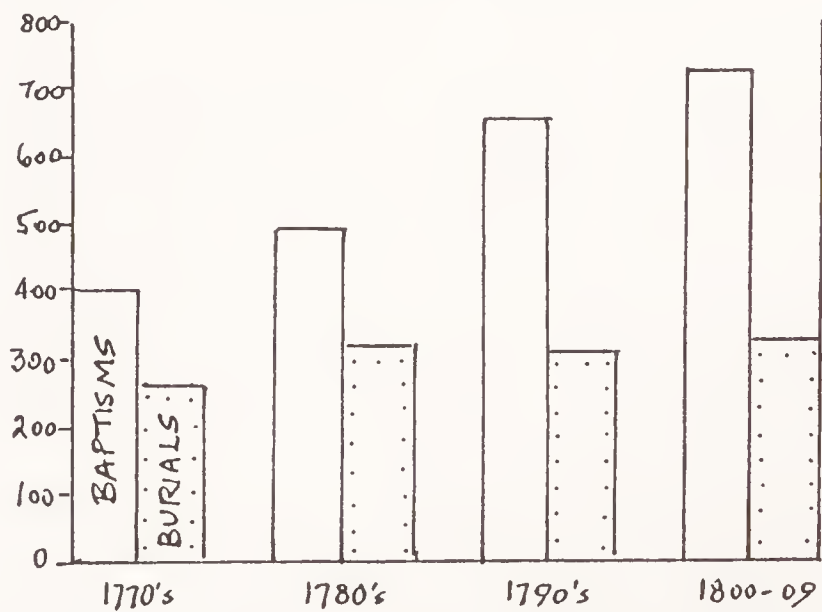


Fig. 2(b). Ten year totals of baptisms and burials in Darton parish.

Between 1700 and 1750 there had been only 10 family names newly identified with nailmaking in the Parish Registers, but from 1751 to 1800 there were 43. A further 22 names appear between 1801 and 1820 and 7 more by the time of the 1841 Census. They include in-migrants who took up the craft and members of already established families. Some of the latter moved from other occupations into nailmaking. Others may have done so or may have been engaged in nailmaking long before the Parish Registers reveal that this was so.

That the nailshops gathered recruits from other occupations can be illustrated by a number of examples.¹² The Child family had worked as carpenters, wheelwrights or labourers at Haigh and Kexborough since the first appearance of the name in 1670 but

12. This and the following references are based on unpublished research into family history in Darton Parish based on Parish Registers by C. P. Shaw.

the first nailmaker among them appears in the Marriage Register of 1794. The Pickerings were probably in the Parish before 1750 and were basket makers, but one of their number appears in 1792 as a nailmaker, though the others continued to follow the traditional family occupation. Joseph Parkin, a nailmaker at the time of his marriage in 1758, was the son of a labourer, a Samuel Parkin, who was described as a "foreigner" in a Register of 1733 and was thus clearly an in-migrant. The Trueloves, who are recorded as nailmakers from the 1790's, were descendants of a cordwainer who had moved into the Parish from neighbouring Royston around 1770. The Dransfields too had been cordwainers, but appear as nailmakers early in the nineteenth century. The baptismal register of the New Street Methodist Chapel in Barnsley provides another example. It records the baptism in 1823 of the son of John Loukes, farmer of Carr Green, a son who appears in the 1841 Census as a nailmaker. An 1805 list of volunteer militia includes the brothers George and William Monsieur, both nailmakers. They originated, however, in the neighbouring parish of Woolley, where their father was a stable groom to the Wentworth family.

In the case of other families who had been established in the Parish well before the registers began to include occupations, there is no information to show whether they were new recruits to the nailshops or not during the eighteenth century. The Nightingales, in the Parish from the seventeenth century, were not identified with nailmaking in the records until a marriage entry in 1794, and the Ellises, who are in the earliest registers, are not represented by a nailmaker until 1791. A nailmaking Turner only appears in 1774, though the family had been in the parish since 1665 at least. Likewise, the first Ibberson nailmaker appears in 1751, though the family features in the registers before 1700. In some of these cases many years elapsed after the Darton register of baptisms began to record occupations (in 1713) before the appearance of the first nailmaker in the family, which perhaps suggests that there were new recruits to the craft among these.

The Darton registers provide a number of examples of in-migrants who took up nailmaking on their arrival or soon after. Such were William Hargreave, appearing in the registers for the first time in 1817 (and as a nailmaker) and Joseph Chappel at the time of his marriage in 1749. Richard Horner, who married the daughter of a nailmaker in Mapplewell at the time of the 1841 Census, had experience of the craft before settling here, as he was a native of Hunslet, another centre of nailmaking. There is no doubt about the Samuel Globe, who was making horse nails at Staincross in 1861, for he came from a nailmaking family in Thorpe Hesley.

It may be that marriage to the daughters of nailmakers drew new recruits to the nailshops both from Darton Township and beyond. One likely case is that of a Samuel Milner, born in Brampton in 1797, who married a daughter of Sam Yardley a Staincross nailmaker, and who appears in the 1841 Census as a nailmaker himself.

It is clear that the workforce in the nailshops also lost members as well as gained them, and this was occurring well before the days when the local collieries began to attract away many of the young men. Some left the parish but others changed occupations while remaining in the Township. It is also of interest that some sons of nailmakers did not take up their father's trade, as in the case of the Norcliffe family in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. There are several cases of nailmakers turning to other occupations. John Waring, a nailmaker in 1747, turned to farming later on (though this may not have been incompatible with part-time nailmaking). Peter Taylor, a nailmaker like his father from 1819 (at least) to 1833, had become bailiff to the Shaws of Staincross Hall by 1841, and a William Rooke, a nailer in a parish register entry of 1810, was a labourer in 1812.

There was evidently some movement into and out of the trade by individuals as the

fortunes of the nailshops fluctuated. This may account for the record of a William Smith, a labourer at the time of his marriage in 1747 but subsequently described twice as a nailmaker and five times as a labourer in the parish register entries up to 1755.

As for the exodus of nailmakers, it is difficult to assess the scale upon which it took place, as out-migration could lead people to a wide range of destinations. There are some examples, however. A John Lindley moved to Mirfield around 1800, to be joined later by his nephew, George, and they appear as nailmakers in the 1841 Census at Knowle Nook and Wasp Nest. William Yardley (or Yeardley), born around 1799 in Mapplewell or Staincross, was working as a nailmaker in Hoyland Swaine by 1841. Likewise, William Chappel, born at Carr Green around 1784, was making nails in Hoyland Swaine in 1851. Earlier George Shaw had set up a nailmaking or, at least a nail merchanting business in Leeds.

It is, however, the very substantial net gain in the number of nailmakers during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which must be emphasised and the activities of two local families appear to have played an important part in fostering this growth. By the 1770's a John Ledger (or Leidger) was operating a business which encompassed both the manufacture and marketing of local products. He was purchasing rod iron at Rotherham and Hunslet to supply his nailshops at Staincross. He owned cottages with attached workshops at Mapplewell, tenanted by other members of the Ledger family.¹³ Although he was almost certainly born in Darton parish, his home and main retailing outlet was at the Market Place in Pontefract. He had other outlets in Leeds and Wakefield. Leeds was his main market for a variety of nails, for tenter hooks and iron teeth for a cardmaker. Evidently the business prospered, for Ledger's "stock and debts" increased in value from less than £1,000 in 1785 to over £3,000 in the space of ten years, and his stock of four tons of rod iron in 1780 illustrates the scale of his operations at Staincross.¹⁴

From the early years of the nineteenth century this business was carried on by Thomas Walton, John Ledger's son in law, Walton was evidently an enterprising and ambitious man. He was twice Mayor of Pontefract, firstly in 1828, at a time when the office was reputed to be "sought after by those of title, rank or independent wealth", since it carried not only prestige but access to financial "perks".¹⁵ His hardware business in Pontefract is listed in trade directories from 1822 to 1848. There is no evidence to confirm that he continued to operate nailshops in Staincross and Mapplewell in the way that his father in law had done, but he owned cottages there, some of which were tenanted by nailmakers.¹⁶ Could it be that these occupants related to Walton not only as tenant to landlord but also as nailmaker to nailmaster? It may be significant in this connection that the small area of Staincross Common awarded to Walton at the time of the Parliamentary Enclosures of 1823¹⁷ had, by 1844, at the time of the Commutation of Tithes, two nailshops upon it occupied by one of Shaw's tenants.¹⁸

During the period in which Ledger and Walton were actively in business, and indeed earlier, the Shaw family of Staincross was also involved in nail manufacture and merchanting. The "yeoman" George Shaw who died in 1749 had established a business in Leeds. One of his sons, Joseph, became a nailmaker there. His other son George, who died in 1785, built up an ironmonger's business in Leeds whilst retaining connections with Staincross and its nailshops. This business appears in a trade directory for the first

13. W. Y. Reg. Deeds: C R 40 60.

14. John Goodchild Collection.

15. R. Holmes: *"The Mayors of the Borough of Pontefract"* (1882). Pontefract Ref. Lib.

16. W. Y. Reg. Deeds: L O 695 637.

17. Enclosure Award of 1823 for Darton Township. Barnsley Local Studies Lib.

18. Tithe Commutation, Darton 1844. West Yorkshire Archives.

time in 1781¹⁹ but had no doubt been in existence for some time before that. The warehouses and “counting house” were located in “White Swan Yard” (later called Swan Street) off Upper Briggate, and successive directories include nails among a range of products.²⁰ Here was an outlet for the Mapplewell and Staincross nailshops in what was, even at that time, one of England’s largest towns, located in an expanding industrial region of the West Riding.

Joseph Shaw (1764-1829), grandson of the first George, developed the Leeds business still further. By 1803 he is described in a property deed as “ironfounder”²¹ and a directory of 1817 identifies Shaw’s “Hunslet Ironworks” for the first time.²² The site, at Knowsthorpe Mills, enjoyed the advantages of water power and access to water transport and was, in fact, leased from the Aire and Calder Navigation Company.²³ By the 1820’s the firm of Joseph Shaw and Son was advertising steam boilers, and in 1830 the manufacture of “iron boats” is mentioned.²⁴ Always, however, nails are included among the advertised products, for the ironmonger’s business in Swan Street continued to operate.

This venture by a nailmaking family into larger scale iron manufacturers is noteworthy as the only example of such a progression by a Staincross or Mapplewell nailmaster, and is reminiscent of the transition made by the nailmaking Walker family of Grenoside into iron manufacture at Masborough in the eighteenth century.

In Leeds Joseph Shaw lived in style, residing in a large town house in Park Square,²⁵ one of the most prestigious parts of the town in the early nineteenth century. In Darton parish Joseph Shaw maintained the family residence at Staincross Hall and the Shaws enjoyed the status of minor gentry. He held the rank of Captain in the Darton Company of the Staincross (Wapentake) volunteer militia early in the century.²⁶ The list of “Staincross Volunteers” of 1805 includes no fewer than 22 nailmakers among the 54 men in the Darton Company. Perhaps Shaw was influential in their recruitment. He may well have known some of them, for he owned cottages at Staincross and Mapplewell tenanted by nailmakers.²⁷ Dearnley holds a different view, suggesting that the pay for attendance may have had much to do with it: “It is pretty certain that if the old nailers were having a slack time when volunteering was in fashion, they would go for it.”

The last entry for the firm of Joseph Shaw & Son in a trade directory occurs in 1857.²⁸ The house in Park Square was sold in 1857²⁹ and the Swan Street property in 1859.³⁰ By 1861 the family no longer occupied their other residence at Staincross Hall, thus ending a period of well over a century during which the family had exerted a strong influence on the growth of the nailmaking industry in Darton Township.

There were two other Leeds ironmongers who owned cottage property in the Township.³¹ A Thomas Wareham is listed in Bailey’s *British Directory* of 1784 in Upper Briggate but by 1812 he had turned to the wine and spirits business. The other, a Thomas Smith, also had an ironmonger’s business in Upper Briggate at least from 1807

19. Bailey’s *Northern Directory* 1781. Leeds Reference Lib.

20. Directories: Binns & Brown: *Leeds 1800*; Baines: *Town & Borough of Leeds 1817*; Parsons: *Leeds 1826*; Parsons & White: *Leeds 1830*.

21. W. Yorks. Reg. Deeds: EN 628 841.

22. Baines: 1817.

23. Tithe Commutation Hunslet 1846. Leeds Archives.

24. Parsons & White 1830.

25. Baines 1817.

26. Wentworth/Woolley Collection: Box 60. Brotherton Lib., Univ. of Leeds.

27. W. Yorks. Reg. Deeds: ON 363 335 (1842)

28. White 1857/8. Leeds Ref. Lib.

29. W.Y.R. Deeds: T P 487 546.

30. W.Y.R. Deeds: U P 409 440.

31. W.Y.R. Deeds: F R 496 531 (1812).

to 1830. Both were thus trading close to the premises of the Shaw family and in the same line of business. There are no records to establish whether these two firms dealt directly with nailmakers in Mapplewell and Staincross, but it seems likely that they did.

Influential as these firms of ironmongers may have been in maintaining and extending outlets for the nailshop products, due weight must be given to the role of the numerous smaller men who hawked the goods themselves, seeking out customers both locally and in more distant places. According to Dearnley hawkers carried the wares on pack animals (horses, donkeys or mules) but later, mostly by horse and cart or trap, finding customers among farmers, blacksmiths, joiners and plumbers in Lincolnshire and (surprisingly) the West Midlands. One hawker is reputed to have travelled as far as the Newcastle area.³² The fact that only one specialist “nailhawker” is identified in the Censuses – a Sam Hunter in 1871 – suggests that the activity was often combined with other occupations, such as nailmaking. As late as the 1930’s a local farmer used to recall boyhood memories – probably of the 1870’s of journeys with his father, Moses Burkinshaw, taking pack animals over the Cut Gate track into the Peak District valleys. Moses Burkinshaw was the son of a nailer but worked as a carrier and small farmer himself, hawking nails from time to time. Hawkers did not neglect local markets, selling nails to shopkeepers in nearby centres of population and to farmers in the countryside. Sometimes nails were bartered for other goods, writes Dearnley, but he does not specify a particular period when this was practised.

The marked growth in the numbers of nailmakers in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, fostered by the enterprise of the several firms of ironmongers and of the nail hawkers, is confirmed by the Militia List of 1806.³³ This shows that nailmaking was the most important single occupation in Darton Township. Nailmakers formed 39% of the total of men aged from 18 to 45, whilst coal mining accounted for only 6% and agriculture only 7. The percentage of nailmakers would be even higher if the men from the village of Darton could be excluded from the total. The List shows that all the nailmakers were concentrated in the eastern parts of the Parish. There were none in the Townships of Kexborough and Barugh.

1841 – A window opened

Despite its imperfections and omissions, the Census of 1841 opens a window, presenting for the first time a detailed view of the Township at a time when nailmakers formed a majority of the working families of Mapplewell and a substantial proportion of those living the nearby hamlets of Carr Green, Blacker, Broad Royd Head and Staincross. The latter had by this time spread from its original core on the ridge top westwards along the edge of the former Common, the lands enclosed in 1823 being available for the building of cottage rows and workshops. The map, Figure 3, illustrates the distribution of families or households where the head was a nailmaker in 1841 and also shows the locations of workers in other small scale industrial activities. Most significant among the latter were those engaged in coal mining which would, during the next few decades, completely alter the economic character of the Township. The O.S. 6 inch map of 1851 shows a number of small collieries, some already closed by that time, which exploited the easily accessible seams, eight in all, which were exposed in succession down the long slope from the Staincross ridge to the Dearne valley floor. Long available locally as a low cost fuel for the nailers’ hearths, the coal could now reach more distant markets following the opening of a branch of the Barnsley Canal in 1802.

It appears from the 1841 Census that with only one exception – one miner had a son working in the nailshops – the families engaged in nailmaking and in mining were still

32. Dearnley Opus Cit.

33. John Goodchild Collection.

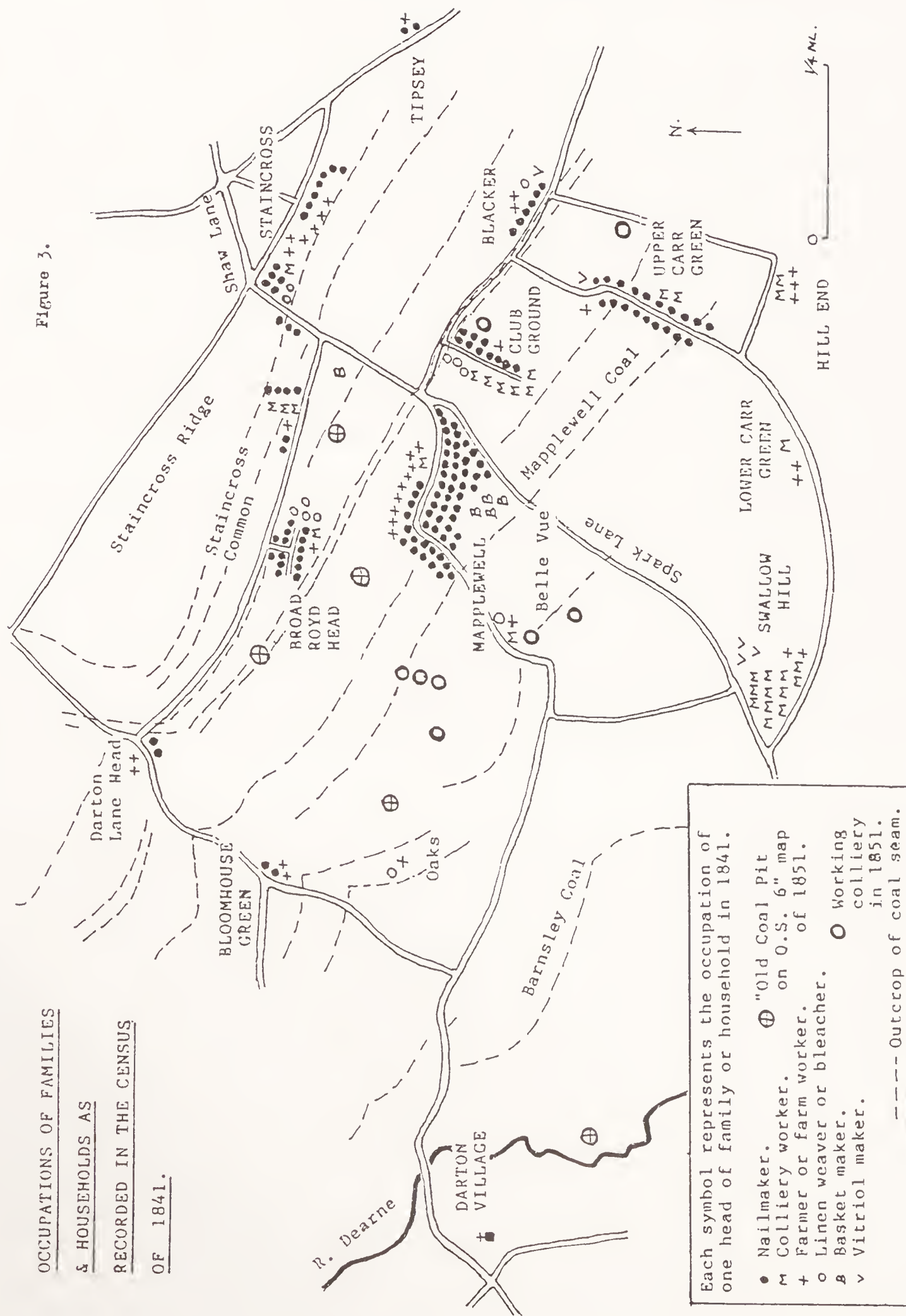


Fig. 3. Distribution map of occupations of heads of households or families in Darton township, based on 1841 Census returns.

mutually exclusive at this time. One cannot be sure, however, since the Census Enumerators were not required to record the occupations of children who were paid their wages indirectly, through their parents.

Certainly there were marked contrasts between the working regimes of nailers and miners. Dearnley describes the flexible working hours of the nailers. Paid as piece-rate workers, "they could if they liked start early and work late, but more often they started late" and earned a false reputation for laziness. In very hot weather they might sleep by day and work at night. When prayer meetings were held in the nearby Methodist chapels, it was the custom, for those who attended, to go in their working clothes and return to the nailshop afterwards. They needed to take time off for their very essential gardening. In summer and autumn many undertook contract work in harvest fields or hay meadows on local farms and "it was not uncommon to see three or four of them going across a field with scythes in the days before horsedrawn machinery." Some took time off for pigeon racing or to follow a meeting of the hounds or even for a game of knur and spell.

Miners too were known to take time off but would lose wages as a result. Because of the nature of their work their hours were more regular than those of nailers. On the Yorkshire coalfield in 1842 the basic length of a miner's day was "eleven hours where the seam was thick but shorter in thin seams. Usually it began at five or six am. and ended between 3 and 5pm."³⁴ A Parliamentary Report of 1842 describes the routine of 12 year old George Eversedge, who worked at Wilsons Pit at Darton: "I get out of bed from 4 to half past; I have to be at the pit by 6. I go out at half past 5 or 6; it is often 7 when we get home. I go home, wash me and have a supper and go to bed."³⁵

Nevertheless the contrast between the régimes of miners and nailers here was not always as marked as these quotations suggest. Only a few miles away, at Silkstone, miners in one colliery were working little more than four days a week in 1842. They "frequently worked longer hours at the end of a week to make up for lost time". An owner's steward explained the overall situation graphically: "It would be a capital thing to make men regular in their hours of work, but if we were to take a man and hang him every now and then it would not make them regular."³⁶

It was characteristic of the period (around 1840) that children worked to help support their families as soon as they were capable. In the Staincross-Mapplewell area of Darton Township, where 44% of the population consisted of children under the age of 15 in 1841, the role of child labour must have been very significant. Unfortunately it is not possible to quantify the actual numbers involved, as the 1841 Census under-records children's employment, for the reason already given. A girl working at Hopwoods' pit at Barnsley in 1842 explained: "I am not paid wages myself; the man who employs me pays my father".³⁷ At Twibells' colliery, also in Barnsley, "the body of the children are employed by the colliers", says the report, "the coalmasters usually employ (directly) merely trappers and drivers."³⁸ Although the Census was taken before the introduction of Ashley's Act of 1842, which would make it illegal for children younger than 10 to work below ground, only 7 boys, with ages ranging from 7 to 14 are described as mine workers in the Staincross-Mapplewell area. Similarly this Census records only 2 boys aged under 9 ('though 28 between 10 and 14) and only 5 girls under 14 as nailmakers. One example will illustrate the likely extent to which the labour of children went unrecorded among the families of nailmakers: no occupation was recorded for any of the children of

34. Parliamentary Papers (IUP) 7 1842 [381] p. 167.

35. Parliamentary Papers (IUP) 7 1842 [381] p. 262.

36. Parliamentary Papers (IUP) 7 1842 [381] p. 168.

37. Parliamentary Papers (IUP) 7 1842 [381] p. 252.

38. Parliamentary Papers (IUP) 7 1842 [381] p. 168.

nailmaker John Chappel: two sons “aged 15” and 3 daughters aged 12, 8 and 6.

Certainly quite young children could be made useful in the nailshops. “Youngsters were at first taught to make a square point on a piece of cold iron; then they were set to make “sparrables” – the simplest form of nail”.³⁹ Young children, both girls and boys, may have contributed to the income of mining families too, for the memorial of the colliery flood disaster of 1838 at Silkstone, only a few miles away, includes a girl of seven among the 26 children named.

One cannot be sure about the comparative roles of women in the nailshops and the collieries here. In 1842 no females were being employed at “Mr. Wilson’s Gin Pit” at Mapplewell.⁴⁰ No female miners are recorded in the 1841 Census in the Staincross-Mapplewell area, yet at Thorpe’s Gawber pit, about two miles away, it was reported in 1842 that “girls hurry with the boys”.⁴¹ In the nailshops, however, women could play an important part alongside husbands or fathers, finding time between domestic duties to help out. “Many a mother”, wrote one local historian of a rather later period in the century, “could be found at four or five o’clock in the morning hammering away at the stubborn metal whilst the elder daughter rocked the baby in a nearby cradle or rocking frame.”⁴² In the evening, wrote Dearnley, “nearly all the available hands were at work, and at that time of day no one could get away from the noise of the nailshops.”⁴³

It seems likely that there were other contrasts between miners and nailers in this community. Certainly nailmakers needed to work very hard in hot, cramped workshops, but they were not subjected to the harsh conditions which miners had to contend with below ground. Contemporary accounts describe how the particular severity of the work laid a heavy mark on the miners of the Barnsley area. “Great numbers suffered from loss of appetite, pains in the stomach, nausea and vomiting”. Liver trouble, boils and chronic pains in the back were reported to be common. Most became asthmatic by the time they were 30, claimed an observer; many had T.B. and many suffered from rheumatism. In a few years “robust men became pallid, short of breath, sometimes crooked and crippled”. “Old age comes prematurely upon them and they were mashed up at 40 or 50.”⁴⁴ One witness in the 1842 Report had been told that it was rare for a miner to follow his calling beyond the age of 40 or 50. The 1841 graph in Figure 4 does indeed show that the mining workforce contained a bigger proportion of the younger men than did that of the nailmakers. It is possible, however, that this reflects the results of in-migration by young miners as much as the effects of ill health.

Crisis and new enterprises

The “window” provided by the 1841 Census remains closed for another 20 years, as water damage has rendered the 1851 Census returns virtually unusable. During this period the effects of technological progress elsewhere began to have important repercussions on the nailmaking industry here.

A machine for making “cut nails” had been in existence since 1811. By 1830 it was available to manufacturers in large numbers and by the 1840’s it had been developed to a stage where it could cut four rows of nails at a time. Fortunately some of the local nailers could and did transfer their skills to local collieries, working there as blacksmiths and fitters. Some became “colliers” but “nailmakers did not take kindly to underground work.”⁴⁵ The graphs in figure 4 show how successive Censuses recorded an increasingly

39. Dearnley. Op. Cit.

40. P.P. 7 1842 [381] p. 224.

41. P.P. 7 1842 [381] p. 224.

42. James Walton: “*The Nail Makers of Darton*”. Yorkshire Life Vol. 2 No. 6. Oct.-Dec. 1950 pp. 163-4.

43. Dearnley. Op. Cit.

44. F. Machin: “*The Yorkshire Miners*” p. 8.

45,46. Dearnley. Op. Cit. from p. 264.

Figure 4.
Nailmakers of Mapplewell and Staincross, as recorded in the
Censuses of 1841, 1861, 1871 and 1881.

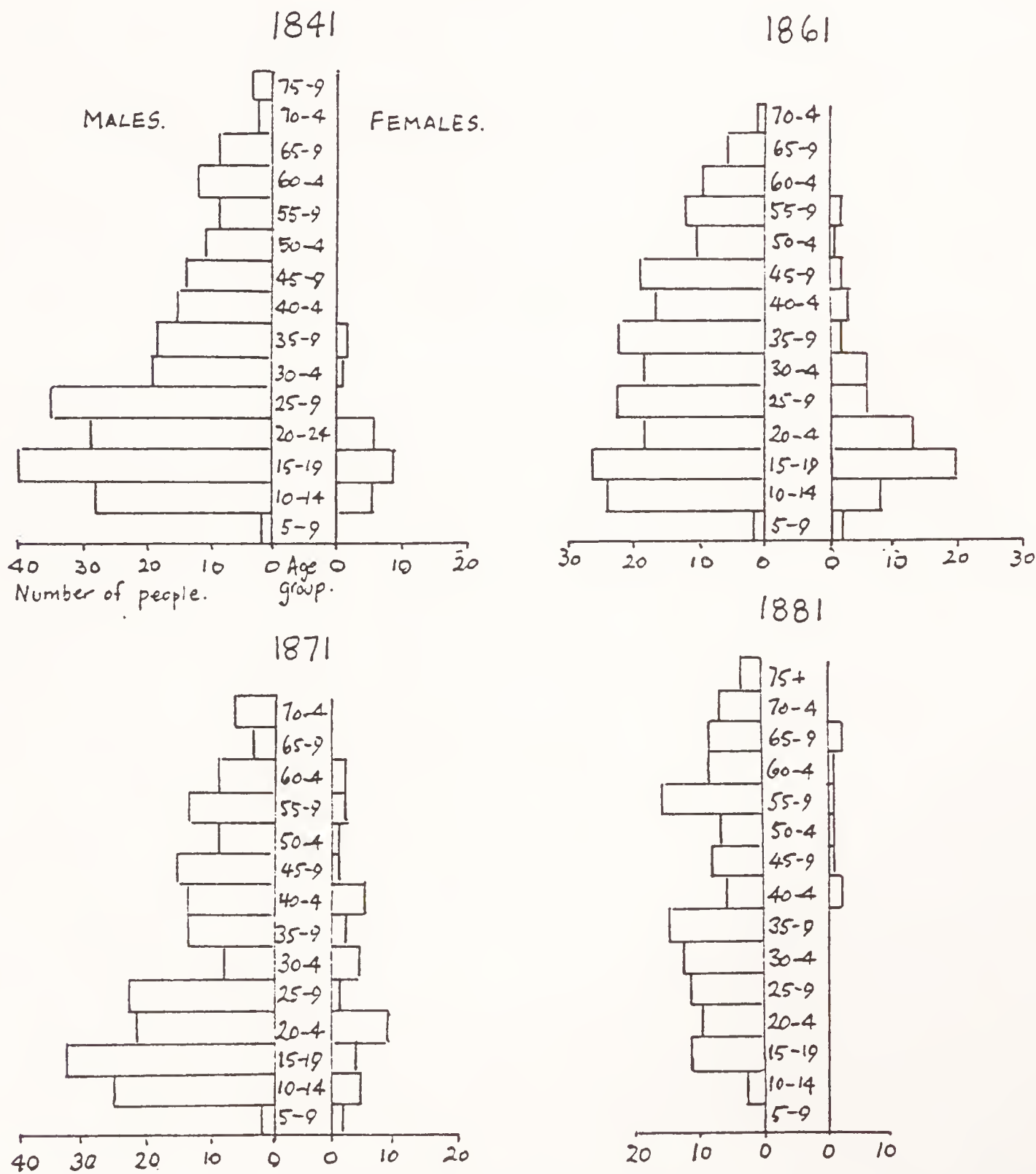


Fig. 4. Bar-graphs showing numbers and ages of nailmakers in Mapplewell and Staincross, based on the Census returns of 1841, 1861, 1871 and 1881.

ageing workforce in the nailshops. In 1861 37% were over 40 years of age and only 8% over 60, but by 1881 50% were over 40 and 27% – more than a quarter – aged over 60. In 1861 there were 16 families in which the father was a nailmaker but where at least one son was a miner, whereas only one miner had a son working in the nailshops. Nevertheless the hand-made nail industry did not die a quick death. In 1861 there were still 37 families where father and all sons worked in the nailshops and 14 where man,

wife and children were all nailmakers, six of these being at Broad Royd Head. Here Henry Lindley aged 56, his fifty seven year old wife, his three sons aged 25, 15 and 13, as well as his daughters, aged 23 and 10, were all “nailmakers” in the Census record.

How far one can accept this descriptive term of “nailmaker” in the pages of the Census Enumerators’ notebooks at its face value is difficult to decide upon, however, for the local workshops had produced a variety of small metal wares for some time, spurred on, no doubt by the increasing competition from cut nails. Some of these products were introduced as new market outlets appeared. Hooks for fixing gas and water pipes to walls, pins for railway “chairs” and lamp hooks for miners are all examples of this, though there are no records to relate any of them to a particular period of the nineteenth century. Tenter hooks for blanket mills, however, had been produced here since the eighteenth century. Joseph Johnson would be making them, along with lamp hooks, in his little workshop at Mapplewell as late as 1931, at the age of 80.⁴⁶ Dearnley mentions other products – links for chains, staples, “bolts” and gate latches. Certain kinds of nail could still be made profitably. Sam Globe was specialising in horse nails at the time of the 1861 Census and moulders’ nails would feature among the hand-made products right into the twentieth century.

Although the Censuses continue to describe most of the metal workers as “nailmakers”, there is no doubt that nails formed a decreasing proportion of the output of the workshops as competition from cut nails heightened the crisis for nailmasters. The mid-century period is notable for the introduction of two quite new kinds of product – steel teeth for rag shredding and moulders’ chaplets and studs. These new lines were well suited to production in small shops, requiring a relatively small input of capital and making an intensive use of labour, all of which had been true of the hand-made nail industry. Masters and journeymen fashioned new equipment of a simple kind. In Pecketts’ workshops a foot-operated heavy hammer (an “Oliver”) was activated by a spring formed from a sapling. The relatively small capital investment would recommend itself to nailmasters at a time when competition from cut nails was eroding their market.

Nevertheless the new processes did require larger premises than before. Charlesworth’s works had, by the 1930’s come to extend over about 250 square metres, with separate shops for storage, forging, tinning and despatch, whereas a single traditional nailshop measured only about a tenth part of that. At Pecketts there were separate buildings for forging and for tempering. At the other works chaplets and studs had to pass through a series of processes in contrast to the simple operation required for making nails or hooks. These new products had to be plated by the hot dip method, involving an acid bath, a dip in flux, and a dip in a molten mixture of lead and tin. Because of these greater requirements in the manufacturing process production came to be in the hands of a few firms, employing wage-paid labour. These were the successors of the old nail industry.

There was still work for women in the hand forging of steel teeth and work for children in fashioning hooks. Later the firm of Dransfields would employ women in the production of moulders’ nails, using small, hand-operated machines. Some of the new work, however, was suitable only for men, in particular the strenuous and unhealthy work of the “tinning” shop.

Simple, improvised methods were introduced where possible. Chaplets were hauled from the vats with garden forks. Buckets with perforated bases were used for draining off surplus liquid. Not quite all could be achieved at low cost, however, for at Pecketts teeth were tempered by quenching them in a vat of whale oil measuring 10 feet square and between 3 and 4 feet deep, no small investment.

It was the nailmaster Joseph Peckett who introduced the making of “machine steel teeth” at some time before 1861 to supply manufacturers of rag-shredding machinery.

The shoddy industry, well developed in Dewsbury and Batley, had been expanding rapidly in the 1850's and would supply "perhaps as much as 40% of the materials for woollen mills in Britain by 1880, as it made possible the manufacture of warm clothing at lower prices".⁴⁷ The Census of 1861 records Joseph Peckett's son Joshua as "Machine Tooth Maker", employing 3 men, and by 1871 another nailmaster, George Ibberson, was employing 8 men to produce teeth-small enterprises indeed. Even by 1881 only 20 men are identified as "Tooth makers" but it may well be that there were others who continued to call themselves "nailmakers".

The manufacture of chaplets and studs, which are used for supporting sand moulds in foundries, was introduced by George Chappel.⁴⁸ The Census of 1871, the first to mention chaplet makers, only identifies three, but again, some of the self-styled "nailmakers" may have actually worked on this new product, as other nailmasters sought to participate in this line. Dearnley remarks that "there was much emulation among the ambitious young men of Mapplewell to learn the details of the new work, for there was money in it." By 1902 Robinson's Directory could list 7 firms which were making chaplets, studs and nails for moulders.

There are no records of the markets which were supplied with the new products but it is known that Darton station, opened by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway in 1850, and little more than a mile away, was the main outlet.

The reduced opportunities for women in the workshops may account for the appearance of "cotton slop making" in Mapplewell and Staincross around 1861. This work, the sewing together of cheap cotton garments, may well have been done in the homes (though there is no specific evidence for or against), and if so, could be fitted into the domestic routine much as nailmaking had been. The new work would be welcome, for most nailmakers were indeed poor. Oral tradition describes furniture made from old bacon boxes in some homes. "Hasty Pudding", a flour and water gruel, was a common dish and "nailmakers' tea" involved the frugal re-use of old tea leaves. For many families poverty was exacerbated by dependence upon "tommy shops" for purchases of groceries. Known locally as the "Tarrif System", it involved the payment of wages by some of the nailmasters in the form of credit tokens, which could be spent at the shop owned by the employer. In some of these shops all goods were more costly than at ordinary grocers. Sugar and soap could be a penny more and butter twopence more.⁴⁹

Among nailers' families slop-making was chiefly done by daughters rather than wives, and about 18 families were involved in 1861. A similar number of mining families were also engaged in the work but they represented a smaller proportion of the total of miners than was the case with nailmakers. Possibly the work was put out from Barnsley, for there were three slop-dealing firms there in 1861.⁵⁰ Remarkably enough, no other village in the Barnsley area contained any slop makers according to the 1861 Census, and by 1871 they had vanished from Darton Township too.

Although some of the "nailshops" survived the crisis through the successful introduction of new products, the workers in those shops now became a dwindling minority in the community as mine workers migrated in. The most dramatic influx occurred in 1861, when a special train brought 70 miners, recruited in Bilston, Staffordshire, to try to break a serious strike at Woolley Colliery, just over the Parish boundary,⁵¹ but the in-migration was now virtually continuous, though affected from time to time by temporary recessions in the mining industry. The 1861 Census shows

47. *Oxford History of Technology*. Vol. 5, p. 570.

48. Dearnley. Op. Cit.

49. Typescript in Wilson Waring Papers. Barnsley Archives.

50. Census 1861 and White's Directory 1861-2.

51,52. Dearnley. Op. Cit.

that 93 of the heads of families who were miners here had been born in other parts of Yorkshire but there were also 34 others, mostly born in Lancashire or Derbyshire, with good representation from other, widely scattered counties – Gloucestershire and Shropshire, North Staffordshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, Northumberland and Durham.

In contrast to this, only 9 of the “nailmakers” recorded in the local Census for 1861 and only one in 1871, had been born outside the Parish. By 1881 there were 187 families in the Staincross-Mapplewell area headed by miners born outside the Parish. Among the several local mines the greatest magnet for in-migrants had been the North Gawber Colliery. A shaft had been sunk to the Barnsley Seam in 1852 and there had been “great rejoicing in the Parish; the church bells at Darton were rung and the landlord of the Rose & Crown hung out a flag.”⁵² A new shaft was sunk in 1871 and by the end of the century the colliery, with its associated beehive coke ovens, would employ over 600 men.⁵³

The Censuses of 1871 and 1881 reveal a host of new family names, not all associated with colliery workers, for the enlarged community could now support a range of service industries. Some of the mine workers would be temporary residents, for this category of worker was highly mobile. In 1881 for example, John Church, a miner, had two sons who had been born in the neighbouring parish of Woolley in 1865 and 1870 and another born at Bilston in 1856. His wife too had been born at Bilston but he himself was a native of Blowfield in Norfolk. There were many others who had arrived here after a series of moves and who may well have moved on again. By comparison the nailmakers were relatively immobile.

In 1881 there were 90 families in Staincross where all the employed males were colliery workers and only 17 where they were all “nailers”. At Blacker there were 27 mining households to 7 of nailers, whilst at Carr Green the 2 nailmaker families lived among 40 families engaged in mining. It was in Mapplewell that the nailmakers were just about holding their own. Here there were still 41 nailmaker families to 47 of miners.

This retreat of nailmakers to their “last bastion” gave Mapplewell a special character during the last decades of the nineteenth century, all the more so since there were so very few surviving nailmakers in the other villages of the Barnsley area, with the exception of Hoyland Swaine. The gathering of the hosts of mine workers can be appreciated from the following figures:

	Mining families	Nailmaker families
1861	337	178
1871	368	221
1881	413	142

It can be seen that by 1881 the decline of nailmakers compared with mineworkers was not only relative but absolute. Few miners’ sons were taking up work in the nailshops. Meanwhile the workforce in the nailshops had come to be formed more and more from the older age groups, as Figure 4 illustrates. The median age of a male nailmaker (insofar as the Census recorded them all) had been between 19 and 35 in 1861 but by 1881 it was in the 40 to 44 age group. Still more significantly, only 8% had been aged 60 or over in 1861, but by 1881 the figure was 27%. In 1881 the median age of a miner here was, by contrast under 20. Only 4% of the miners were aged 60 or over in that year and two thirds of them were under 40 years of age.

There were other differences between the two working groups in this community. The legislation of 1872 raised the minimum age for boys working at the pit top from 8 to 10.⁵⁴ The introduction of state-provided education would begin to curtail the employment of boys at the collieries but would not hinder part-time working by youngsters in the

53. *Home Office List of Mines*: 1901.

54. R. N. Boyd: “*Coal Pits and Pitmen*” (1892) p. 180.

nailshops. In 1861 the Census had recorded 30 boys age 5 to 9 working at collieries but in 1881 there were none.

Nailmasters and journeymen

The term “master nailmaker” first appears in the Census record in 1861 but was not a new feature. Generally speaking, a master was a man who owned one or more nailshops in which journeyman nailmakers worked for him on a piecework basis. Masters would provide the rod iron, generally through a middleman in the village, and would market the product. According to the Censuses a master might employ any number of workers between one and 15. In 1861 there were 22 men who described themselves as “Master nailmakers”, of which 13 were in Mapplewell. These included operations as varied as that of Joseph Peckett with 15 men, Joseph Chappel with “3 men, 7 boys and 2 girls”, John Ledger with “11 men and boys” and Joshua Peckett with 3 men. The 1871 Census lists only six masters, however. Of these George Ibberson employed 8 men, John Goldthorpe 1 man, and Edwin Waring 1 man and 3 boys. Richard Charlesworth had 2 men at Carr Green and at Staincross Joseph Chappel had 5 men, 4 boys and 3 women.

It may well be that the total number of “masters” fluctuated from time to time – the 1881 Census identifies 10 – ‘though all but one describe themselves as “Manufacturers” rather than as “masters”. In view of the small capital outlay required to erect and equip a nailshop, there was no large financial obstacle to setting up as a master. A typical shop was a single-storey building of local sandstone, often formed of quite rough masonry, with a brick chimney stack and unglazed windows. (See fig. 5). Square in plan, it measured about 5 metres each way and, according to Dearnley, accommodated up to about 5 workers. The equipment was simple – a “stock” formed of an ash-filled box to form a base for stithy and hardy, a simple hearth, bellows and water trough.

All these enterprises were on a very modest scale. Rather than expand into the manufacturing side of the business, masters preferred to diversify their interests into investment in cottage property to let or into shop-keeping. The “Tarrif System” has

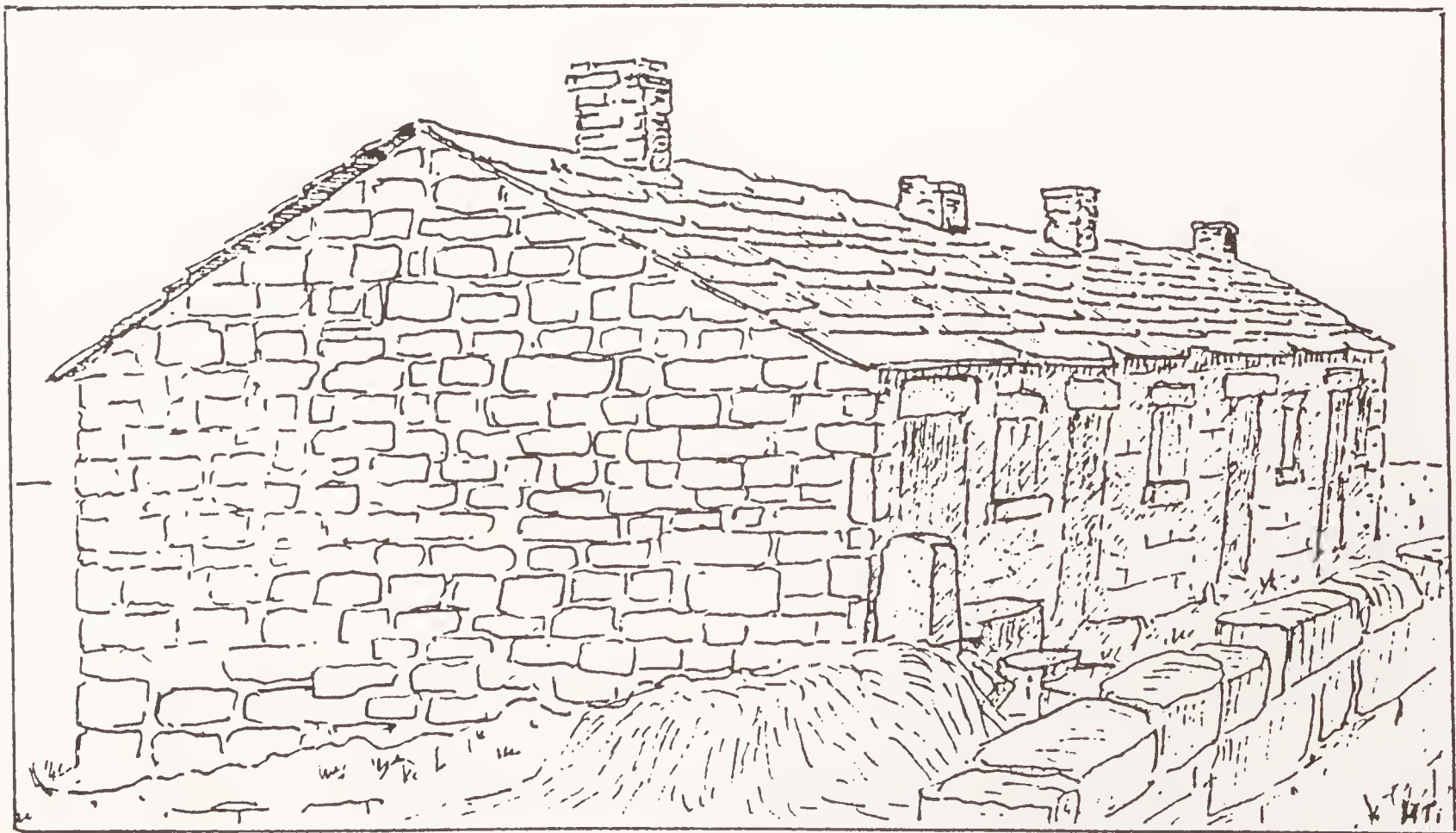


Fig. 5. Nailshops off Towngate, Mapplewell, now demolished. From a photo. taken by the author in 1945.

already been mentioned in this connection but their trading was not limited to groceries or drapery. The Burkenshaw and Charlesworth families owned butcher's shops. John Berry Birkenshaw is described in White's Directory of 1862 as "Nail maker and dealer in drugs, etc." Earlier in the century Joseph Peckett was listed in Baines' Directory of 1822 as "Maltster and nailmaker."

Lists in trade directories draw attention to another feature of the way in which the nailmakers were organised. White's Directory of 1872 lists no fewer than 40 names of "Nail Manufacturers". This contrasts oddly with the 6 "Masters" identified by the Census in the previous year, but may well represent in part the body of nailmakers who worked as independently of the "Masters" as possible. In so doing they could at least avoid the "Tarrif System" though they might have to rent their "stocks" in the nailshops from a "Master", paying rent either in cash or in nails. Some formed themselves into syndicates, which would ease the organisation of marketing and collection of rod iron.⁵⁵

It is said that such men "often set out before dawn for Wakefield or Barnsley, returning with 4 stones of iron and ready to start work in the nail-shop after a breakfast." Some idea of the stamina which enabled them to achieve such feats is illustrated by the story of "Old Bolton" (possibly the William Bolton who was married at Darton in 1796) who is said to have walked from the Wentworth Arms at Staincross to the Chantry Bridge in Wakefield and back, twice, carrying a sack of coal, without stopping or taking refreshment. Apparently he completed this 28 mile marathon in 1840 for a bet, and danced a jig outside the "Wentworth" before going in for a drink.⁵⁶

A few of the master nailmakers owned or rented small areas of either pasture or arable land. It is intriguing that conveyance deeds of 1835⁵⁷ and 1861⁵⁸ describe George and William Monsieur as "Yeomen", despite the fact that they were no more than tenants of a small pasture in Spark Lane,⁵⁹ though they did own land with cottages upon it both at Staincross and in other parishes. It may be that the pasture was required for the grazing of donkeys, mules and horses, for use on journeys connected with the nail trade, for the Tithe Commutation map and schedule of 1844 reveal that five other nailmakers – none of them masters – also rented small areas of pasture.

In some other cases, however, nailmaking was indeed combined with small scale husbandry. In 1871 Vincent Burkinshaw, nailmaker, was running an 11 acre holding and describing himself as a farmer. In the 60's the widow Hannah Turner appears as a "farmer of 6 acres", but her son, living with her, was a nailmaker. The Gee family at Staincross was both nailmaking and working 3 acres of land in 1881, and as a son was a miner, this household certainly knew how to hedge its bets. Three nailers – one a master – were also market gardeners in the 1860's. Joseph Lindley, the master, operated a grocer's shop as well.

Although the old relationship between nailmaking and husbandry had virtually disappeared, except for seasonal work on local farms by many nailmakers, husbandry did continue to run like a thread through the story of the industry. A few made the transition from nailmaking to farming, the most remarkable being Osmond Goldthorpe, owner-manager of a chaplet works up to the 1940's, who progressed through farming at Staincross to farming in Devon, and ultimately to tenure of a Prairie farm in Ontario.

The "successor" firms

Decisions made in the mid-nineteenth century to introduce new products to the

55. James Walton Opus Cit. pp. 163-4.

56. C. P. Shaw: unpublished notes on Darton families through Parish Registers.

57. W.Y.R. Deeds: L T 650 644.

58. W.Y.R. Deeds: W M 288 328.

59. Tithe Commutation Darton 1844. W. Yorks. Arch.

nailshops sustained the industry for about a hundred years. Only one of the firms, Pecketts, specialised in the making of steel teeth; the rest concentrated mainly on chaplets and studs.

The “Longsight Works” established by the Dransfield family at Darton Lane Head in the 1870’s⁶⁰ and whose products are illustrated in the advertisement reproduced in figure 6, is of particular interest, for from this firm sprang a number of other enterprises. The Goldthorpe brothers, who learned their craft at the Longsight works, left to establish their own small chaplet business in the 1880’s, eventually building the “Central Works” in Spark Lane. The Waring brothers, similarly, left Dransfields to set up their own workshop at Smithies in 1902, moving soon after to their “Dock Works” alongside the canal at Old Mill in Barnsley in 1908.⁶¹ Members of the Dransfield family too set themselves up in the new locations. William Henry, a son of the founder of the family firm, Job Dransfield, built the “Excelsior Works” at Darton in the 1890’s⁶² and was advertising in a trade directory of 1902 as “patenter and sole maker of steel gas and water hooks.”⁶³ This business did not prosper, but a new venture in Wakefield was established in time to benefit from the boom period of the 1914-18 War.⁶⁴ His brother Albert established a small chaplet works at Summer Lane in neighbouring Royston towards the end of the century.

Joseph Charlesworth, like Job Dransfield, was one of the “ambitious men” who made the transition from nailmaking to chaplet manufacture. In 1861, as a youth of 15, he had been a nailmaker, but by 1872 he appeared in White’s Directory as “Nail Manufacturer,” and by the 80’s⁶⁵ he had set himself up in the chaplet business in Spark Lane. Not far away the Peckett family were building up their steel teeth-making business, the only firm to continue in this line beyond the First World War.

Like some of the old nailmasters, the families who ran the “successor” firms prudently diversified their business interests. One of the Dransfields had acquired Oaks Farm at Darton by 1904⁶⁶ and the family operated a small brewery at Longsight from 1910 to the mid 30’s. Joseph Charlesworth combined a butcher’s business with his chaplet and nail works in Spark Lane, having his own abattoir there. Latterly the family ran a plumber’s business along with the works. All the proprietors invested in cottage property to let.

Most of these metalware firms were small, as the earlier nailmaking businesses had been. The Goldthorpe brothers only employed four or five men, but Warings at Barnsley could employ up to 40 men and women between the Wars. True to the Mapplewell tradition, Wilson Waring (who died in 1939) had all the skills necessary for making many of the tools which were required in his works, as his diaries amply testify,⁶⁷ and his son Alfred maintained that tradition.

After years of depression between the two Wars, the late 30’s and the period of the Second World War saw order books filled for all the chaplet firms to supply foundries at shipyards on Merseyside, on Clydeside, in North East England and at Belfast. Both before and after that War, the proprietors had shown much enterprise in seeking out customers. Foundries were supplied in Lancashire and the East Midlands, as well as in south Yorkshire, but occasionally consignments were despatched to the Netherlands, South and west Africa and to Australia. Much earlier, in the pre-1914 period, Pecketts had produced an advertising leaflet with a German text. (See Figure 6.)

60. W.Y.R. Deeds: 716 262 302.

61. Wilson Waring: *Notes on the History of Waring Brothers’ Works* (Typescript). Passim. Barnsley Archives.

62. W.Y.R. Deeds: 25 658 327.

63. Robinson’s *Directory of Barnsley*, 1902. Barnsley Local Studies Lib.

64. Dearnley. *Opus Cit.*

65. W.Y.R. Deeds: 811 531 620.

66. W.Y.R. Deeds: 6 753 352.

67. Wilson Waring: *Diaries 1916-39* (M.S.) Passim. Barnsley Archives.



Gas & Water Hook.



Pipe Nail.

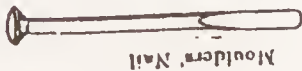


Liverpool Water Hook.

Job Dransfield & Sons,

MANUFACTURERS OF

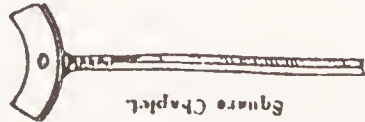
**WATER, GAS
& FLASHING HOOKS.
CHAPLETS, STUDS,
MOULDERS' NAILS &c**



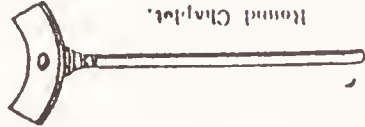
Moulder's Nail.



Flashing Nail.



Square Chaplet.



Round Chaplet.

The Views,
Darton,
Near BARNSELY.



Stud, Triple.



Stud, Double.



Stud, Single.

(1902).

JOSHUA PECKETT & SONS,

MAPPLEWELL

ESTABLISHED 1857

STRIPPER
FEEDER
WORKER
SWIFT

SHOULDER
DRUM
ROG
ROUND
COTTON
HEAD
TOOTH

BARNSELY, ENGLAND



Fabrikanten aller Art Stahlzähne für Wollen=Rauhen =
Maschinen und für Lumpenwölfe sowohl für Tuchlumpen als für
Strumpflumpen geeignet: für Baumwollabgang = Maschinen zum Rauhen
von hartem Baumwollabgang geeignet.

Sämmtliche Zähne sind handgearbeitet und aus der allerbesten
Qualität von Roheisen verfertigt.

Fabrikanten auch von runden Stiften oder Zähne für Maschinen
zum Rauhen von groberem Baumwollabgang geeignet: so wie von
viereckigen Stiften mit Köpfen in verschiedenen beliebigen Größen
und Längen.

Names were added by
a former employee.

Fig. 6. Advertisements of products by Job Dransfield & Sons, 1902, and by Joshua Peckett & Sons, Mapplewell.

It had been difficult to justify investment in capital improvements in the workshops between the Wars. Afterwards such changes as were made were not sufficient to ward off the effects of competition from other firms, which were larger and better equipped. In the mid-nineteenth century it was competition from machine-made nails which had thrown down a challenge. In the twentieth century machine-made steel teeth and studs, as well as chaplets plated by the electrolytic process in other centres, contributed to the new crisis. This time there was to be no reprieve. Problems connected with illness and family succession among proprietors of the firms added to the difficulties, and always the local collieries competed effectively for labour.

One by one the firms disappeared, Goldthorpes in the 1940's, Pecketts in the 50's and Dransfields at Longsight in the 1960's. Before 1970 Charlesworths too had closed. Dransfields' Royston works had closed around 1950 and in Barnsley Warings' works, the last of all to go, ceased to trade in 1972.

The evidence remaining on the ground to mark something like 300 years of endeavour by nailmakers and their successors in Darton Township is slight. A derelict nailshop or two on the hill at Staincross, a few abandoned workshops in Spark Lane, and some remnants at Longsight make up the visual heritage. By contrast, the evidence of past colliery working, with its vast output of spoil, lies heavily on the landscape, but in 1987 North Gawber Colliery too, which had intruded upon and featured so significantly in the story of this nailmaking community, was closed. Both nailmaking and coal mining here belong now to the realm of industrial archaeology.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to the late James Dearnley (1864-1956), whose "History of the Ancient Parish of Darton" (completed in the mid-1940's) includes an account of the nailmaking industry of Mapplewell and Staincross based on his own first-hand knowledge, gained during his earlier years, when he frequently visited the nailshops. He was born at Emley Moor, the son of a miner, but spent most of his life in Darton Parish. He began work at Woolley Colliery at the age of 14, but as a young man he visited Canada three times, working for a spell on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. When he was over 70 he wrote up his "History", for which he had been collecting material for many years.

I thank the staff of the following for their assistance: Archives of South and West Yorkshire, Sheffield, Barnsley, Wakefield and Leeds, Bretton Hall, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Borthwick Institute; also the staff at the Reference Libraries in Leeds, Barnsley, Wakefield and Pontefract.

I am indebted to John Goodchild for access to his notes on nailmakers in Darton parish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

I am grateful to Brian Elliott and Margaret Turner for advice connected with eighteenth-century wills and inventories, and to Clarence Shaw for information on Darton families, based on the parish registers.

For information about the activities of the firms in the twentieth century I thank Reginald and Evelyn Frank, Glinnis Charlesworth, Hilda Ives, Clifford Carter, Tom Roberts, Charles Limbert, Edna Whyke, Arthur Barton and Osmond Goldthorpe, all of whom have been associated with the firms either as employers or employees; also Douglas Robinson, Frank Harrison, Tom Wall, Benjamin Ibberson, Harold and Daran Johnson and Frank Atkinson.

I am particularly grateful to David Hey for his encouragement, advice and constructive comments.

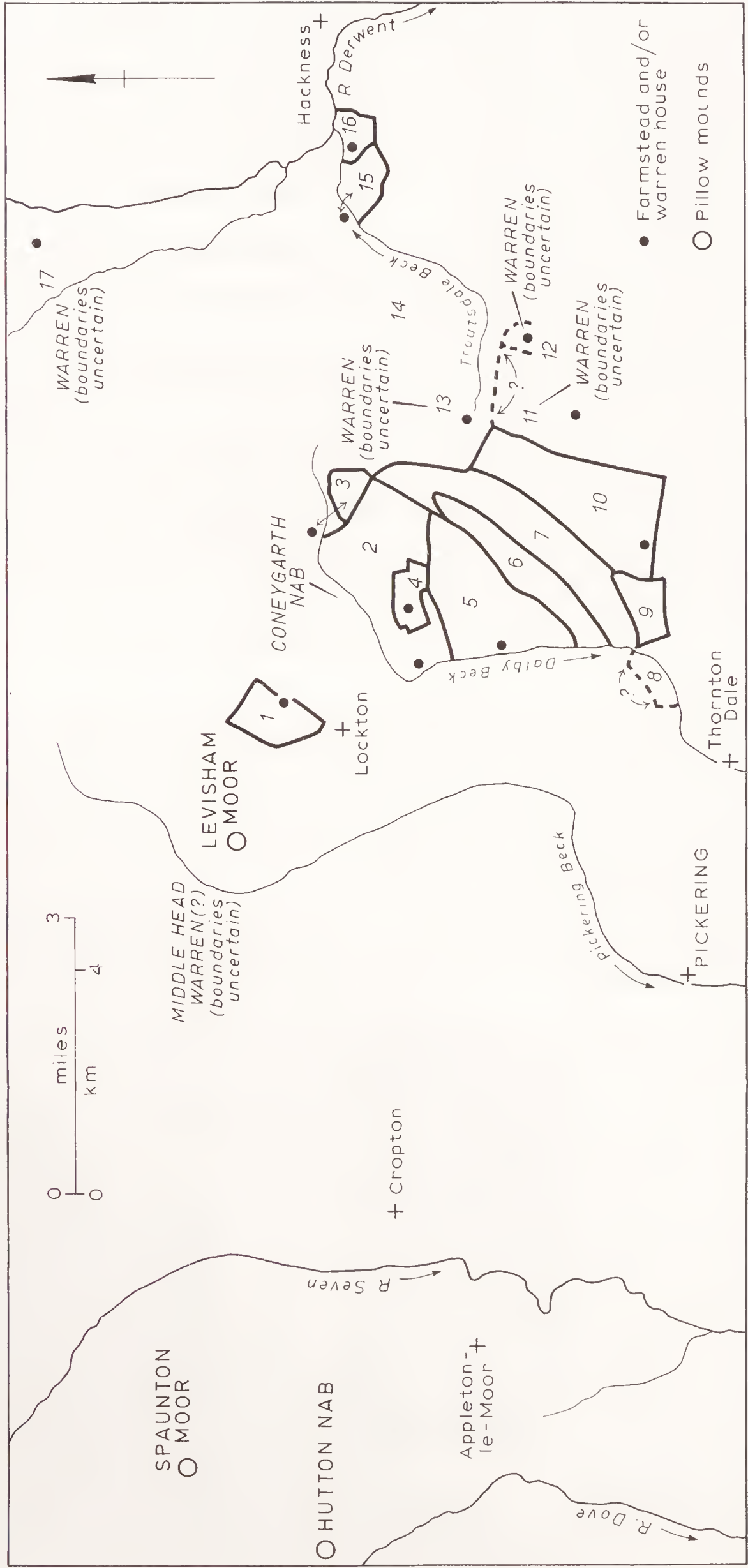


Fig. 1. The warrens of the eastern Tabular Hills. Key: 1 Warren Farm, Lockton. 2 High Dalby. 3 Staindale. 4 High Rigg Farm. 5 Low Dalby. 6 Flainsey. 7 Whitecliffe Rigg. 8 Ellerburn. 9 Nabgate. 10 Allerston. 11 Low Scamridge. 12 Cockmoor. 13 High Scamridge. 14 Troutdale (?). 15 Knoll Grange (Baker's Warren). 16 Mount Misery. 17 High Langdale End.

THE RABBIT WARRENS OF THE TABULAR HILLS, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By A. Harris and D. A. Spratt

That substantial areas of land were devoted at one time to commercial rabbit farming is well known.¹ Studies in widely separated parts of Britain have demonstrated both the antiquity of the practice and its considerable economic importance, as well as its ability to make an enduring impression on the local scene.² Although the circumstances in which rabbits were farmed in Yorkshire have still to be investigated in detail, it is clear that some parts of the county were much involved in the business of producing carcasses and skins for sale.³ In some of the more highly cultivated districts, such as the Yorkshire Wolds, few traces of warrening remained by the end of the nineteenth century, even in places where rabbit farming had been important little more than 50 years earlier, and there is now little evidence on the ground itself to indicate that it was ever present.⁴ On the Tabular Hills of North Yorkshire, by contrast, the physical remains of former warrens are still clearly visible in the neighbourhood of Pickering. Here rabbits continued to be farmed along traditional lines until the present century and a number of warrens have escaped the consequences of modern farming practice. Boundary banks, field divisions and a form of stone pitfall trap known as a 'rabbit type' can all be found locally, often in a state of good preservation, together with the successors of the warren houses and the trackways which once served them. Although such features are widely distributed, they are most numerous and best preserved on land which has been acquired and planted by the Forestry Commission since the early 1920s.⁵ Beyond the forested areas, and particularly where arable farming now prevails, the physical remains of former warrens become more fragmentary. Some of the warrens formed part of landed estates whose records have happily survived for the relevant places and periods. It becomes possible in these circumstances to extend our knowledge of the warren economy by means of both field and documentary enquiry. This paper summarises the results of a study, which was carried out between 1987 and 1989.⁶ Its purposes are, firstly, to describe those features which can be attributed to rabbit farming locally, and secondly, to review these in the light of what is known of the history of warrening in this part of Yorkshire.

1. J. Sheail, *Rabbits and their History* (Newton Abbot 1971), contains a general survey.
2. The literature is extensive, but see J. Bond, 'Rabbits: the case for their medieval introduction into Britain', *The Local Historian* 18 (1988), 53-57; M. Bailey, 'The rabbit and the medieval East Anglian economy', *Agricultural History Review*, 36 (1988), 1-20; J. Sheail, 'Rabbits and agriculture in post-medieval England', *J Historical Geography*, 4 (1978), 343-355; A. M. Tittensor and R. M. Tittensor, 'The rabbit warren at West Dean, near Chichester', *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, 123 (1985), 151-185; Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, *Glamorgan, Medieval Secular Monuments, Vol. III, Part II, Non-defensive*, (Cardiff, 1982), 313-345, and HMSO; A. Brown, *Fieldwork for Archaeologists and Local Historians* (London, 1987), 23-24, 116-117.
3. A. Harris, 'The rabbit warrens of East Yorkshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *YAJ*, 42 (1967-1970), 429-443; M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to AD 1500* (Wakefield, 1981), 753-757.
4. Harris, *op. cit.*, 431-432.
5. These purchases are conveniently summarised in J. Rushton, *Dalby, Valley of Change* (Forestry Commission and North Yorkshire County Council, 1976), 99 *et seq.*
6. The field observations were made during 1987 and 1988. Attention was focused on the district lying to the east of Pickering.

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The Tabular Hills form a strip of limestone upland 5 to 15 kms wide across the south flank of the North York Moors, which contrasts strongly with the heather-covered hills of the sandstone moors themselves. The boundary between the two is marked by a steep north-facing escarpment, which reaches at its eastern end an elevation of about 200m OD. The Tabular Hills decline evenly in height from the escarpment southward to the carrs of the Vale of Pickering at about 50 m. They are dissected at intervals by rivers running off the moors, and in the east, where the main warrens lie, the headwaters of the Derwent have eroded into their northern flank, creating a convoluted terrain. Numerous valleys, many now dry, together with the steep escarpments previously mentioned, make ideal rabbit warrens.⁷ The geology of the hills is not uniform, but comprises alternate beds, two of limestone and two of the more sandy calcareous grit. The limestones have long been areas of mixed tillage and pasture. The gritstones, which tend to crop out in the northern half of the Tabular Hills, are more acidic, and in the past have been used largely for grazing and as warrens: they are now occupied mainly by coniferous forest. Like the limestone, the grit country provides a physically suitable terrain for warrening. Not all the warrens, however, were on the limestones and grits. Some long pillow mounds (see below) at Spaunton Moor are situated on Estuarine Sandstone. Some small warrens (Knoll Grange or Baker's Warren, Mount Misery and Langdale End) were on the Oxford Clay, Kellaways Rock and Estuarine Sandstone which are exposed by erosion along the northern edge of the Tabular Hills. Figure 1 shows the positions, and, as far as they are known, the boundaries of the warrens, which fall into three classes.

1. *Pillow Mounds* (Table 1)

These warrens are marked by mounds, often shaped like pillows, about 10 x 5 x 1m but which can be over 100m long. They are found widely in Britain, and in some districts appear to be the principal warren remains.⁸ Rabbits burrowed in the mounds and were trapped by ferrets and nets, a method used from the early middle ages. In our area, we know of only three certain examples, classic pillow mounds at Hutton Nab and Levisham Moor, and long mounds at Spaunton Moor.⁹ There is no evidence for the dates of construction or operation of these warrens, but they may pre-date most of the warrens described below. No pillow mounds have been found in these.

TABLE 1. PILLOW MOUNDS

WARREN	GRID REFERENCE	REMARKS
Hutton Nab	SE 695904	Pillow mounds on the nab field. 'Coney Clapper' at the foot.
Spaunton Moor	SE 711929	Four long mounds.
Levisham Moor	SE 822920	Several pillow mounds.

7. W. Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Yorkshire* (London 1788), ii, 263; R. Parkinson, *Treatise on the Breeding and Management of Livestock* (London 1810), ii, 295.
8. Faull and Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, 753-757.
9. For the pillow mounds on Levisham Moor see R. H. Hayes, *Levisham Moor Archaeological Investigations 1957-1978* (North York Moors National Park Committee and the Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society, 1983), Fig. 1 and p. 5. A field below Hutton Nab is named Coney Clapper, derived from *claper(e)*, a Middle English word for a burrow or warren.

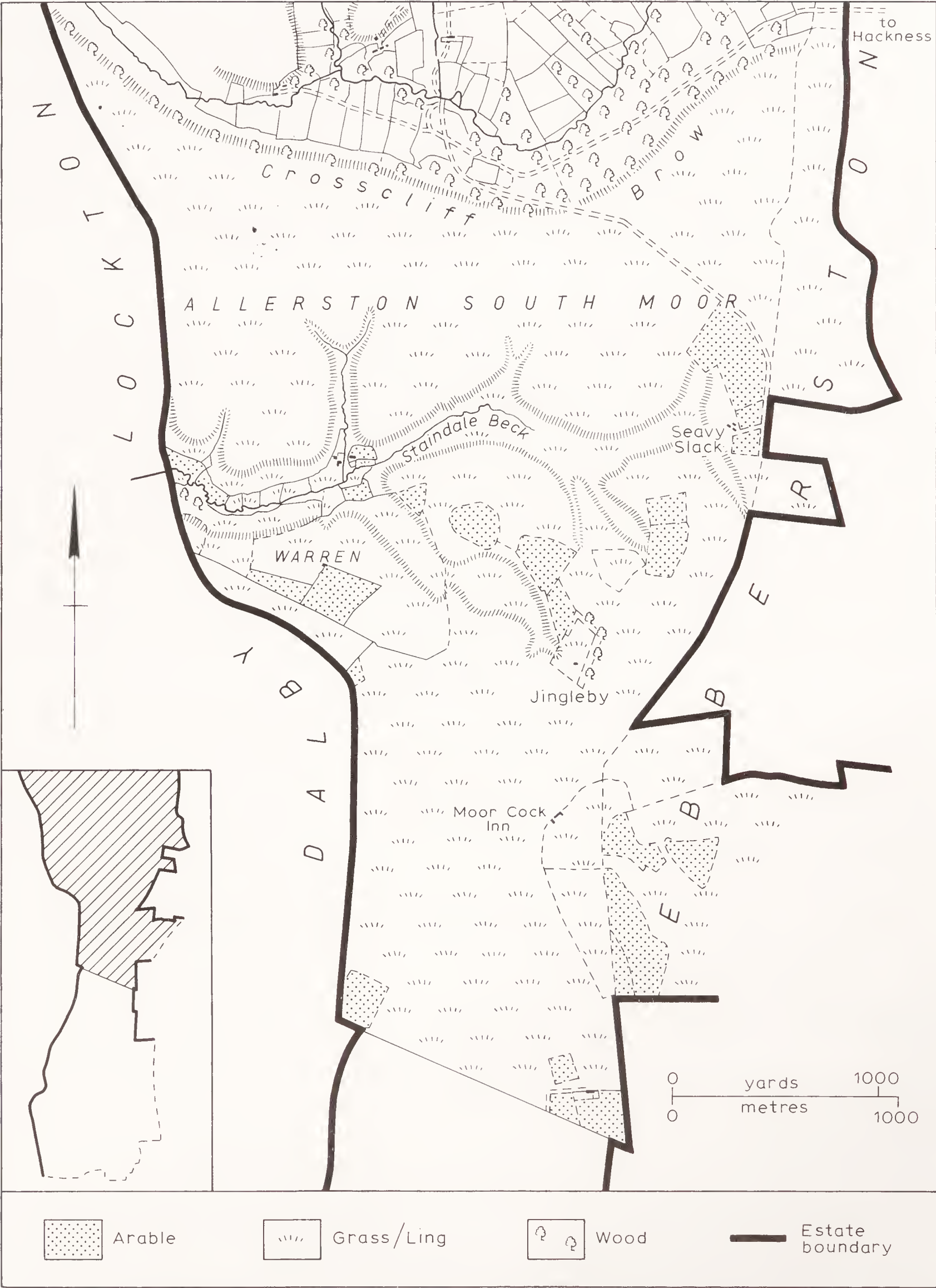


Fig. 2. Part of Allerston in 1847/48, showing Staindale farm and warren. The thick black line marks of boundary of the Osbaldeston estate. Based on a plan and schedule in the Hull City Record Office (DBHT 9/1-2). For the continuation of this map see Fig. 2a.

2. *Extensive Warrens* (Table 2)

These consist of large tracts of land up to about 1800 acres (728 hectares) bounded by streams or walls, with rabbit types (pit traps) dispersed across them, and now frequently preserved by the forest plantations. The largest warrens were in the Dalby and Allerston areas, and smaller ones lay near the escarpment on the south side of Troutsdale. The warreners serviced the traps along access tracks which traversed the warrens.¹⁰ Not infrequently we find types lying outside the warren boundaries, both in the extensive and farm warrens. Examples are on Pexton Moor (near Flainsey warren), Staindale, Allerston and Langdale End warrens. Their significance is uncertain.

3. *Farm Warrens* (Table 2)

We have used the term farm warren to distinguish those which comprise a ring-fenced farm, which had pit traps mainly built into the perimeter walls. These walls in some cases define the limits of the improved land rather than the holding itself. In the extensive warrens the rabbits were confined as far as possible within the warren and were fed and trapped there. On the farm warrens, it was not uncommon for a piece of steeply sloping or poor land to be set aside and fenced off for the use of rabbits and other livestock. Additional rabbits from outside the farm were attracted inside when required by providing fodder. This kind of warrening, which was frequently incidental to the main interests of the holding, survived in some places until the myxomatosis epidemic of the 1950s.¹¹ Warren Farm and Far Fields (Lockton), High Rigg (Dalby) and Mount Misery (Hutton Buscel) all appear to have been farm warrens at one time. There were almost certainly others like them, but the destruction of many pit traps makes identification difficult in the absence of other evidence.¹²

TABLE 2. OTHER WARRENS

No attempt has been made here to duplicate information contained in the main body of the text. The sequence of numbers refers to the warrens and other features shown on Fig. 1.

Note abbreviations: a = acres r = roods p = perches

WARREN	GRID REFERENCE	TYPES	REMARKS
1. Warren Farm, Lockton	SE 845915	3 on 1854 OS map. 1 survives, not shown on 1854 map.	Present farm may occupy part of former Lockton Warren. The boundaries shown on Fig. 1 are those of the perimeter ring fence.
2. High Dalby	SE 870890	2 large enclosures 120 x 120m, 150 x 150m. 17 small types.	1. 1776. A holding of 1131 ac 2 roods 10 perches. Of this: warren 927a 3r 18p wood 68a 3r 32p closes (use unspecified) 89a 3r 80p. 2. 1814. 1254a 3r 39p. Of this, warren occupied 963a 0r 11p. 3. 1917. 1366 acres, of which 250a under the plough, 'the remainder being moorland and rough grass'.

10. OS 6" Yorkshire Sheet 92, surveyed 1848-1850, published 1854, provides good examples.
11. *Ex inf.* local farmers. Several farmers have spoken to us about the contribution of the rabbit to the income of upland farms, whose main interests centred round sheep and cattle.
12. Although pit traps seem to have been maintained in some places until c 1950, most appear to have fallen out of use by the early years of the present century. Many are marked on the 1910 revision of the OS 25" sheets as 'Old Rabbit Type'.

3. Staindale	SE 884900	8 types, 3 of which are outside the warren boundaries.	<p>In 1847-48, a holding of 182a 1r 5p. Of this: warren 81a 2r 38p ling, wood and grass 23a 2r 17p other grass 47a 1r 04p arable 29a 0r 29p house etc 0a 1r 37p</p> <p>The boundaries shown on Fig. 1 are those of the warren.</p>
4. High Rigg Farm, Dalby	SE 865890	None 1854. 1 found in 1988.	<p>By 1866 'a complete, though small range of Farm buildings had been erected upon high ground, lately a rabbit warren. The buildings consisted of a cottage, barn, granary, cart house, stable and a foldyard with open sheds.</p>
5. Low Dalby (Duchy of Lancaster estate. For other land farmed from Low Dalby see nos. 6 and 7 below).	SE 865875	3 large enclosures 130 x 30m, 180 x 80m, 90 x 50m. 13 small types.	<p>1. 1776. The Duchy estate at Low Dalby contained 919a 2r 15p Of this: warren 792a 0r 24p wood 63a 2r 00p closes (use unspecified) 63a 3r 31p.</p> <p>2. 1814. 966a 0r 9p. Of this, warren occupied 792a 0r 24p.</p> <p>3. 1914. 958a 2r 34p, of which (approx) 806a were 'moorland' and 21a arable.</p>
6. Flainsey	SE 870865	2 enclosures. 12 small types.	<p>Held as a warren in 1743. 372a 3r 17p in 1777. Flainsey warren worked with Low Dalby for many years.</p>
7. Whitecliffe Rigg	SE 875865	4 enclosures 10 small types and 5 on Pexton Moor beyond the Duchy boundary.	<p>In 1786 an advertisement for Low Dalby included 1800 acres of warren and sheepwalk, of which 500 ac, 'lately part of Thornton Common', were known as Whitecliffe Rigg. This land had been 'added to the same warren, and planted with Rabbits'.</p>
8. Ellerburn	SE 850845	1 small type.	<p>1775. A holding of 207a 1r 30p, of which warren 63a 3r 36p. Also a wood (24a 1r 15p) 'late a Coney Warren and Ellers'.</p> <p>1789. 'the worst of it has been improved since the last valuation by John Outram [1775] by cleaning the ground of whins and brushwood and plowing it'.</p> <p>1803. A holding of 195a 2r 20p consisting of 'An Old Frontstead and Garth with several closes and grounds called Skeath Wood and Ellars, wherein large ponds and grounds by the Beck side'.</p> <p>1824. An area called Ellerburn Warren was held in two farms and was mostly under arable cultivation and improved pasture. Rough pasture of 28a 0r 8p.</p> <p>The name 'Ellerburn Warren' continued to be applied to properties after the warren itself had been abandoned or reclaimed. The boundaries shown on Fig. 1 are those of the warren.</p>

WARREN	GRID REFERENCE	TYPES	REMARKS
9. Nabgate	SE 845839	2 small types.	Nabgate House, shown on the OS map of 1854, may have been a warren house. Site marked by buildings debris (ex inf. Mrs. E. M. Garbutt).
10. Allerston	SE 880860	12 large enclosures. 15 small types.	1848. 1281a 3r 3p of warren in hand. The warren was described as 'grass and arable' in the same year.
11. Scamridge	SE 900865	2 small types.	Listed by Young (1817). Shown on Henry Teesdale's <i>Map of Yorkshire</i> surveyed 1834-35 and published 1835, but boundaries uncertain. 700 ac according to Young. Not on 1854 OS map.
12. Cockmoor	SE 910865	1 enclosure (100 x 30m). 3 small types.	'A rabbit warren called Cockmoor Hall' (W. White, <i>History, Gazetteer and Directory of East and North Ridings of Yorkshire</i> , 1840). 300a according to Young (1817), but boundaries uncertain. Not on 1854 OS map.
13. High Scamridge	SE 900885	1 small type.	400a according to Young (1817), but boundaries uncertain. Not on 1854 OS map.
14. Troutsdale	SE 917890?	No types found.	A Troutsdale warren of 400a is listed by Young (1817), but its precise location is not known. No independent documentary evidence found. Could the Troutsdale warren of 1817 have been the same as numbers 15 and 16 below?
15. Knoll Grange or Bakers Green	SE 942894	1 enclosure (100 x 37m). 3 small types. (5 in 1912).	Farmed as part of a holding consisting of 200a of warren and 50a of other land, according to the 1851 Census of Population.
16. Mount Misery	SE 947894	1 in 1854. 5 in 1988.	1888. A farm of 138a 1r 22p. Of this:— Warren 93a 3r 4p moor 13a 0r 38p grass 13a 0r 32p Arable 17a 0r 16p house etc. 1a 0r 12p Similar details recorded in 1839.
17. High Langdale End	SE 925945	1 enclosure (100 x 40m). 6 small types.	Marked on 'A map of the Country round Scarborough...by Robert Knox' (1821, reprinted with additions 1849), but boundaries uncertain. 'The rabbit warren at High Langdale End' (1840).

The status of the area marked on Fig. 1 as Coneygarth Nab (SE 864903) is uncertain. Two rabbit types are shown there in 1854.

NB The numbers of enclosures and rabbit types are taken from the OS maps of 1854. Some of these features are now destroyed; others can be found which were not included in 1854 (e.g. Mount Misery).

The information in the 'Remarks' column is based, unless otherwise indicated, on the following sources:

Dalby. Plans, surveys and Enrolments of Leases in the DLO.

Staindale. Hull City Record Office, DBHT 9/1-2.

High Rigg Farm. *Minute Book*, 1866-1867, 248, DLO.

Flainsey. J. Rushton, *Dalby, Valley of Change* (1976), 129.

Whitecliffe Rigg. *York Courant*, 5 December 1786.

Ellerburn. Dean and Canons of Windsor MSS CC120138 (1775); CC120137 (1803); CC120139 (1824); XVII 4.32 (1789).

Allerston. Hull City Record Office, DBHT 9/1-2; BIHR, TA 855 VL.

Mount Misery. NYCRO 2DS IV 1/5/15 (1888); HUL DCCV 184/89, 'Particulars and Plans of Estates at Hutton Bushel' (1839).

High Langdale End. Box 12G6 (1840), DLO.

FEATURES OF THE WARRENS

The following paragraphs describe the components of the warren, derived from documents and field observations:

1. *The Warren Boundaries*

Although Marshall (1788) states that 'a brook, though ever so deep, is found to be insufficient as a fence against rabbits', we have several examples of streams used as warren boundaries.¹³ The major warrens in Dalby Forest – High and Low Dalby, Flainsey and Whitecliffe Rigg – were all bounded on the west by Thornton (Dalby) Beck, which also formed in part the boundary of Ellerburn warren. However, rabbit types, possibly operated from one of the Dalby warrens, spill over to Pexton Moor, on the west bank of the beck. Most boundaries are turf or stone walls, although these were no more impervious to rabbits than the rivers. The turf walls survive to about 1.3m in height and are often about 1m wide at the base. They were formerly 'brushed', or capped, with heather or furze held in place by sods of earth and projecting beyond the wall face in order to exclude or confine the rabbits more effectively.¹⁴ They can be distinguished, even when decayed, from earth banks, for they show in section the black marks of buried turf lines. The stone walls were of the conventional drystone type, usually simply constructed without 'throughs' or coping stones. They also survive to about 1.3m in height. Neither turf nor stone walls have revealed field evidence of their dates of construction. The Staindale warren provides an excellent example of the use of both kinds of wall, for they survive today exactly as depicted on a map of 1847 (Fig. 2).¹⁵ Turf and stone walling were used on the flat areas, and stone walls on the valley sides. Wallers invariably used what was closest at hand. The earliest reference found to the use of wire netting occurs at High Dalby in 1857, when it was employed to exclude rabbits from reclaimed land.¹⁶ The walls of stone or turf could not contain the rabbits entirely, and arable farmers adjacent to the warrens were sorely afflicted by them. This problem might contribute to the clustering of warrens, as will be further discussed. The rabbits

13. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 264.

14. *Ex inf.* Mr. W. Nesfield, of Sherburn, retired gamekeeper and Mr. A. W. Croft, retired farmer, of Thornton Dale.

15. 'Plan of the Ebberston Estate in the North Riding of the County of York belonging to George Osbaldeston, Esq.', surveyed by Edward Page, 1847. A copy of this map, together with its accompanying schedule of 1848, is in Hull City Record Office, DBHT 9/1-2. Scarborough Public Library has the map (Y 912.1), but not the schedule. See also Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter BIHR) TA 855 VL, for similar information contained in the Tithe Award and plan of Allerston, 1847-48.

16. Duchy of Lancaster Office (subsequently referred to as DLO), *Minute Book 1855-1857*, 11 June 1857. The introduction of fencing designed to exclude rabbits can be traced in *Compendium of Charles D. Young and Co's. Larger Catalogue of Iron and Wire Work* (nd c 1850), 13; and 'Young on Wire-Fencing', *J of Agriculture*, New Series, July 1849-March 1851, 339. The decade 1830-1840 is indicated by these sources for its introduction nationally.

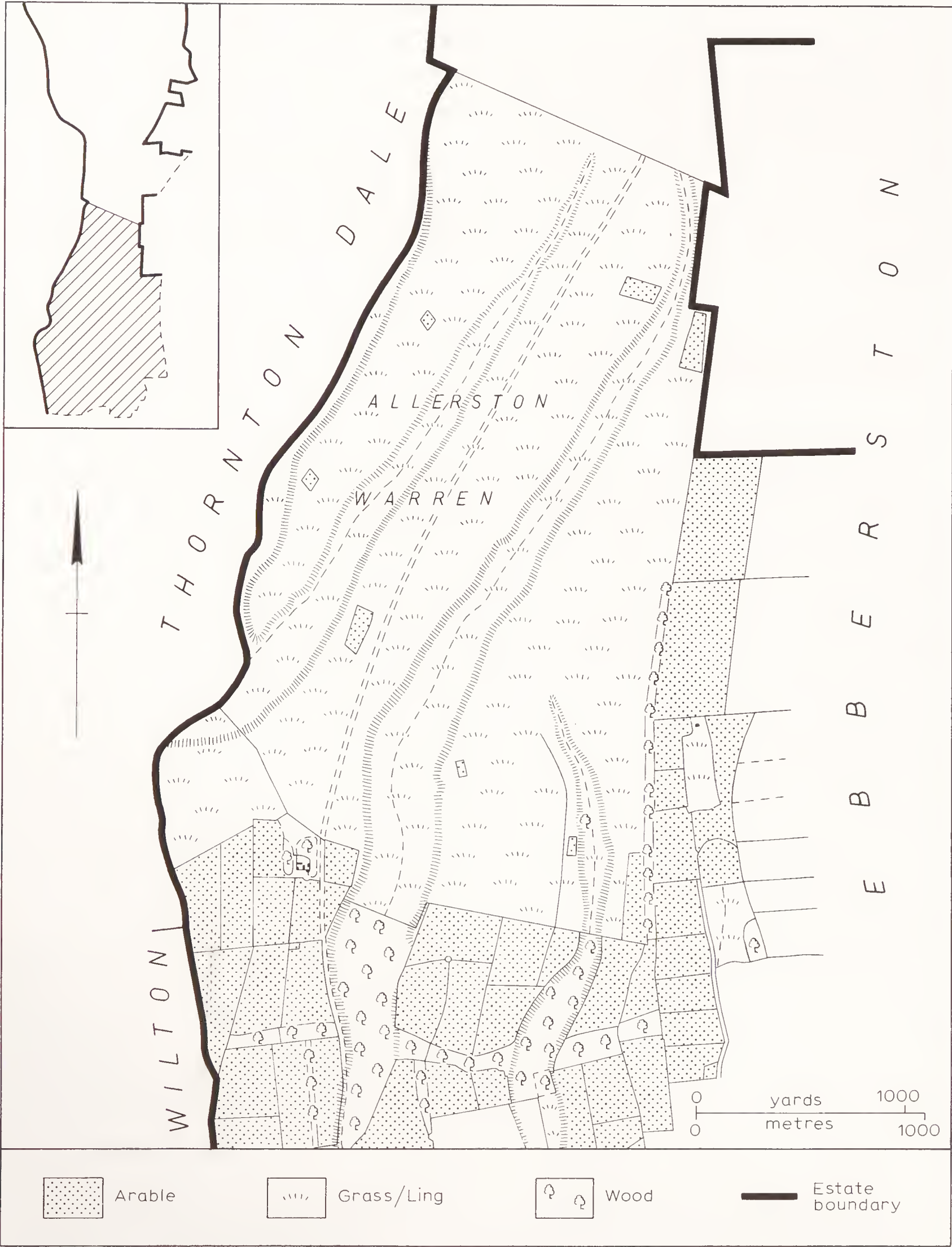


Fig. 2a. Allerston Warren in 1847/48, showing the use of land. For the continuation of this map see Fig. 2. Source as for Fig. 2.

were encouraged to remain within the warrens by the attraction of adequate fodder.

2. The Rabbit Types

The rabbit type was usually a circular pit about 1m deep and 1m diameter, lined with a corbelled stone wall, and where necessary a paved floor.¹⁷ It was placed just to one side of a wall which separated the rabbits from their food. A wooden tunnel, called the 'muce', about 20cm square in section, ran through the wall and across the top of the pit (Figs. 3 and 4 and Plates 1 and 2). In the part of the muce above the pit there were one or two tilting boards on axles, which, when freed, caused the rabbit to drop into the pit, but, when wedged, allowed the rabbit access to both sides of the wall.¹⁸ Young (1817)

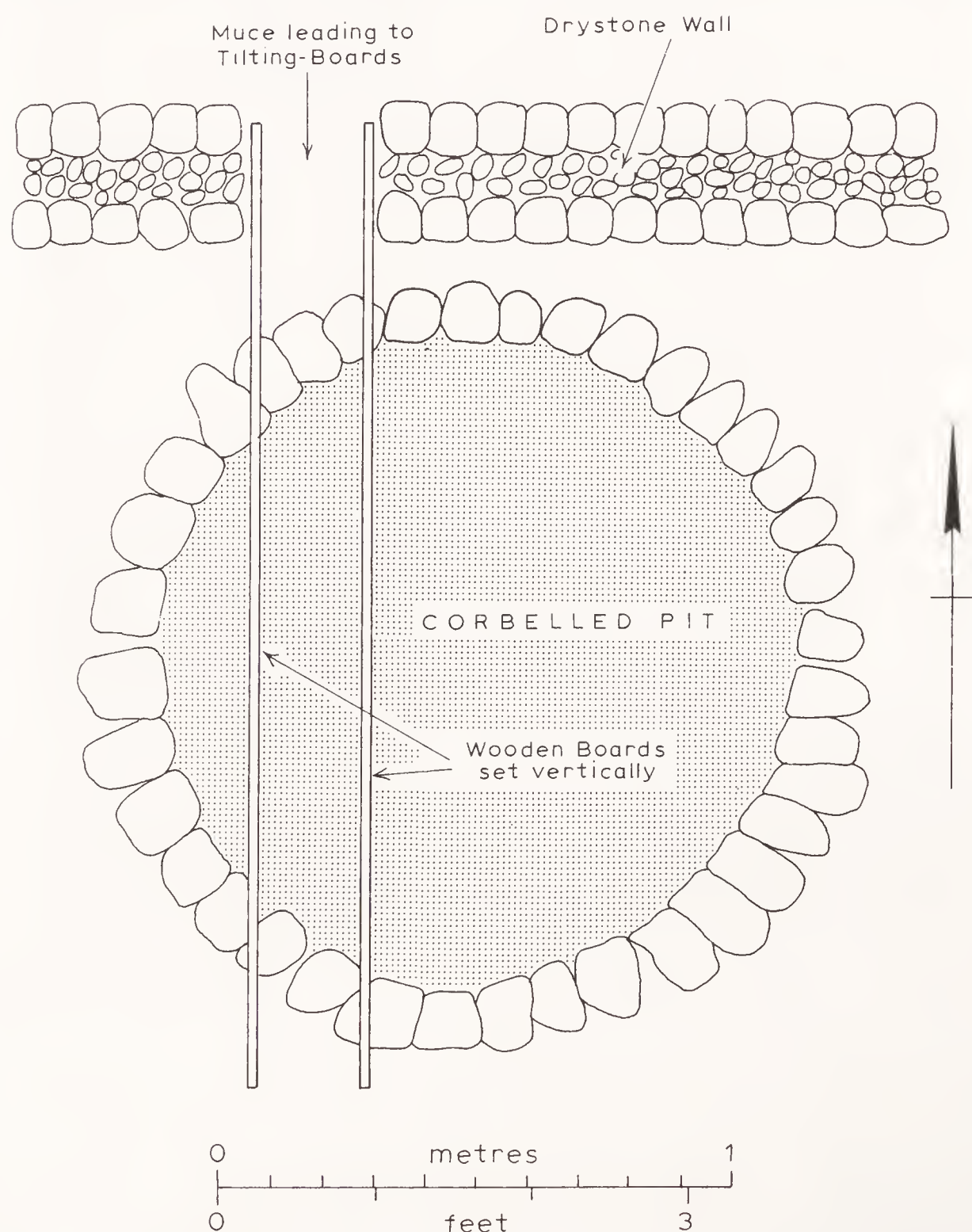


Fig. 3. A pit trap or type. The drawing is based on an example at High Rigg Farm, Dalby. This is unusual in that the wooden muce survives, as shown.

17. The best contemporary account of the pit trap (*type*) in Yorkshire is contained in H. E. Strickland, *A General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (York 1812), 251-252. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 266, contains a brief discussion. For the muce (or meuse), *Notes and Queries*, Series 6 no. 12 (1885), 49, 93, 195. Several sources suggest the use of deeper pits (up to 1.8m) than those found during the present survey (e.g. W. A. Dutt, *Wild Life in East Anglia* (London 1906), 66, in Breckland, and Strickland, *op. cit.*, on the Wolds).
18. We have received information about the working of pit traps from Messrs. R. E. Corney, J. S. Elliott and W. Nesfield.

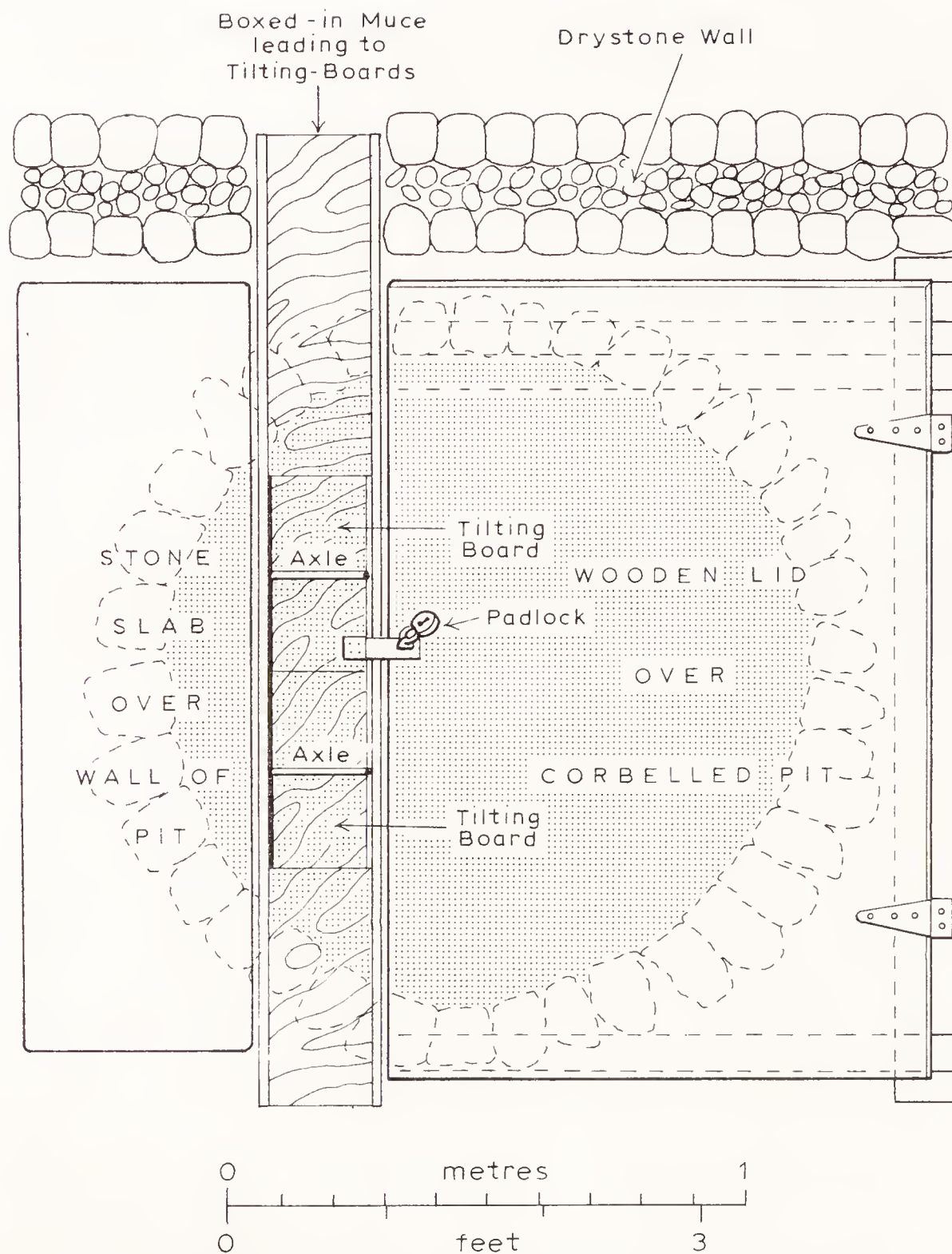


Fig. 4. A reconstruction of a rabbit type (c.f. Fig. 3). Sometimes iron hasps and hinges are found in the type, but wooden lids have generally perished.

says that axles were fitted with a cog-wheel one tooth of which was turned at each fall, so that the number of rabbits trapped could be controlled.¹⁹ Marshall makes no mention of this, but simply states that the types had to be carefully watched, for an excess of rabbits could cause them to overheat and suffocate, spoiling the carcasses.²⁰ The top of the pit was covered by a stout wooden lid which was fitted with a padlock to discourage poaching.²¹ In the large warrens, the types were usually placed within a stone or turf-walled garth or enclosure, which could be quite small, about 5 x 5m (Fig. 5 and Plate 3). But they could in effect be intake fields of up to 150 x 150m, in which case there could be two pit traps, one at each end of the enclosure, as for example on two enclosures at Whitecliffe Rigg (SE 871860 and 868855). At the latter, there is also a built entrance to the stone enclosure, apparently to allow access for cultivation. At three rabbit types we have found evidence for two phases of construction. At the type on Sneverdale Rigg (SE 868885) there is a small stone-walled enclosure with two pit traps in the wall; it is

19. G. Young, *A History of Whitby and Streoneshalh Abbey* (Whitby 1817), ii, 804.

20. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 267.

21. The determined poacher arrived prepared to break into any secure rabbit type (*Hull Advertiser*, 2 February 1799).



Plate 1. Rabbit type in the perimeter wall at High Rigg Farm (SE866892), last used in the 1950's. The wooden muce has survived. (Bruce Herrod; copyright Forestry Commission).

surrounded by a low earth bank enclosing about ten times the area of the inner enclosure. The large enclosure has the remains of at least one trap. At Hawdale Rigg (SE 884873) an oval pit trap is enclosed by a rectangular earth bank 6 x 7m, which is itself built into the south corner of a rectangular earth bank 19 x 20m. The purpose of this arrangement is not clear, and it might have been a two-phase construction. On Whitecliffe Rigg (SE 876869), four types built into a stone-walled enclosure appear to be of different ages; two in good state of repair seem later than the others. All other enclosures seen by the authors appear to be of simple one phase construction. The complex of enclosure plus pit trap is also sometimes called a 'rabbit type' and is so marked on Ordnance Survey maps.²² A stone or turf enclosure within a warren does not necessarily denote a rabbit type, however, for it can be an intake field for other purposes.²³ Occasionally one sees in the field a rabbit type without any enclosure walls,

22. OS 6" sheet Yorkshire 92, published 1854, contains examples.

23. See below, where the management of warrens is discussed.



Plate 2. Rabbit type in the stone enclosure wall on Whitecliffe Rigg (SE871860). The hole which carried the muce through the wall has survived. (Bruce Herrod; copyright Forestry Commission).

as at Stoneclose Rigg (SE 871885). In this case one suspects that it must originally have been surrounded by small turf walls or that stone walls were robbed for road making. In the farm warrens, the pit traps were normally placed in the peripheral farm or enclosure walls.²⁴

When the warrener wished to take rabbits, he put fodder, such as turnips, on the type side of the wall, wedged the tiltboards, and allowed the rabbits access to their food through the wall via the muce. When the rabbits were accustomed to the muce, he freed the tiltboards and caught the required number in the pit. When the warrener opened the lid, the rabbits could not jump out because of the overhang of the corbelled wall, and he could take them at his leisure, selecting some but perhaps releasing others. At certain times of the year, for example, breeding does might be spared.²⁵

The design of the types varied, though most seem to have been similar to those in Figs.

24. Good examples survive on Mount Misery Farm, Hulton Buscel.

25. Strickland, *op. cit.*, 248.

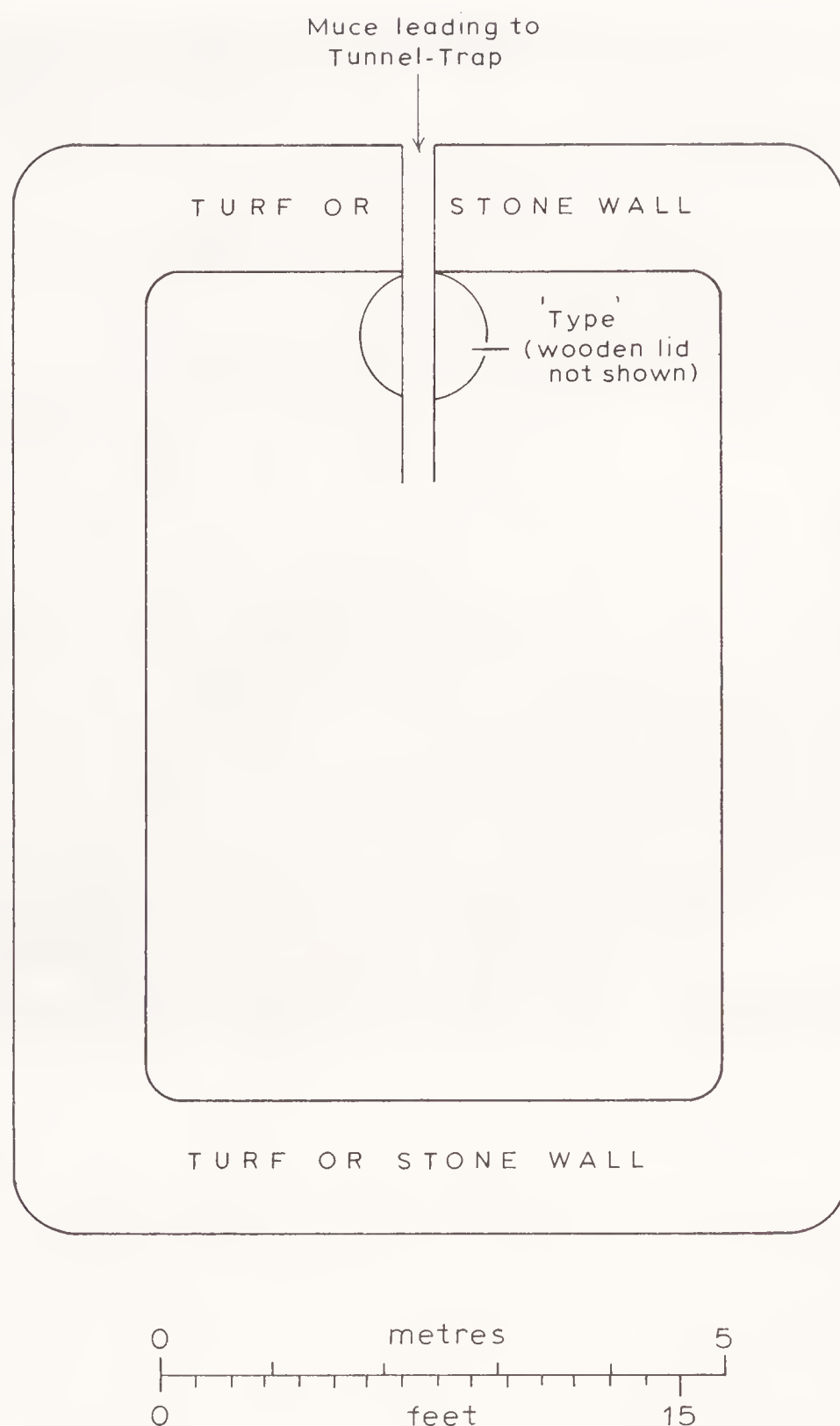


Fig. 5. A typical small enclosure with a rabbit type. The dimensions are those of a pit trap and enclosure on Sutherbruff Rigg, Dalby Forest.

3 and 4. The woodwork of the muce is preserved (Plate 1) in a type at Stoneclose Rigg (SE 866892) and Fig. 4 is based on it. In this type the top of the muce is at ground level, but in Fig. 6, taken from Horner, the bottom of the muce is on the ground surface.²⁶ There are variations also in the stonework. In a type of Hawdale Rigg (SE 885873), for example the pit is oval in plan, 2 x 3m similar to another on Whitecliffe Rigg enclosure (SE 876869). At Mount Misery, a rabbit type (SE 949895) is built into the side of a bank, with access for the rabbits at the top. At the same farm, in a wall just outside the farm boundary (SE 94688925) the corbel construction is built within a wide stone wall, with a muce near the top of the wall, whence the rabbits fell in. It is not clear precisely how these variants worked.

We do not know the date of invention or development of the rabbit type. It was used in other parts of Britain (e.g. Lincolnshire and the Brecklands of East Anglia and in two warrens in Glamorgan) and appears to have been associated in the Tabular Hills with

26. T. P. Horner, 'Rabbits galore in North East Yorkshire, 1788', *Dalesman* 17 no. 2 (May 1955), 86-88. The illustration is reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of the *Dalesman* magazine.



Plate 3. Stone-walled enclosure with rabbit type at Dixon's Slack, High Dalby Warren (SE874900). The wall was recently restored by voluntary workers.

the expansion of warrening during the early eighteenth century.²⁷ Marshall refers to it in 1788 as 'a more modern' way of catching rabbits, compared with the practice of taking them by net and ferret.²⁸ We have discovered no field evidence of their construction dates, and there seem to be no systematic structural changes by which we can postulate a chronological series.

3. *The Warren Houses*

The centres from which the warrens were worked are shown on Fig. 1. At Lockton and Allerston their successors are still called Warren House, but elsewhere they have no such distinctive names, and at Nabgate and Knoll Grange (Baker's Warren) they no longer survive. Rabbits were sold immediately after capture, often to middlemen, and there was no need to provide extensive storage for carcasses, though it might be needed on occasion for skins.²⁹ Thus no special buildings are to be found at the warren houses, even when these retain outbuildings of any age. Stone-built ruins survive in Staindale warren at SE 88339003. These had at one time a corrugated iron roof and were probably still in use for some purpose during the present century. They were described in 1847/48 as a barn.³⁰ Isolated buildings which may have served the Dalby warrens are mentioned by Rushton, but no further references to these have been found.³¹

27. For the association of pit traps with warrening on a large scale see P. S. Doughty 'The rabbit in Lincolnshire: a short history', *J Scunthorpe Museum Society*, 2 (1965), 17; Rushton, *op. cit.*, 75; R.C.H.M.W. *Glamorgan Vol. III, Part II*, 315-6 HMSO.

28. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 266.

29. A cottage in Ellerburn had racks for drying skins (Rushton, *op. cit.*, 76).

30. Hull City Record Office DBHT 9/1-2.

31. Rushton, *op. cit.*, 76. The Hill family papers, which Mr. Rushton used for his account of Dalby and which are in private hands, were not accessible in 1987-88.

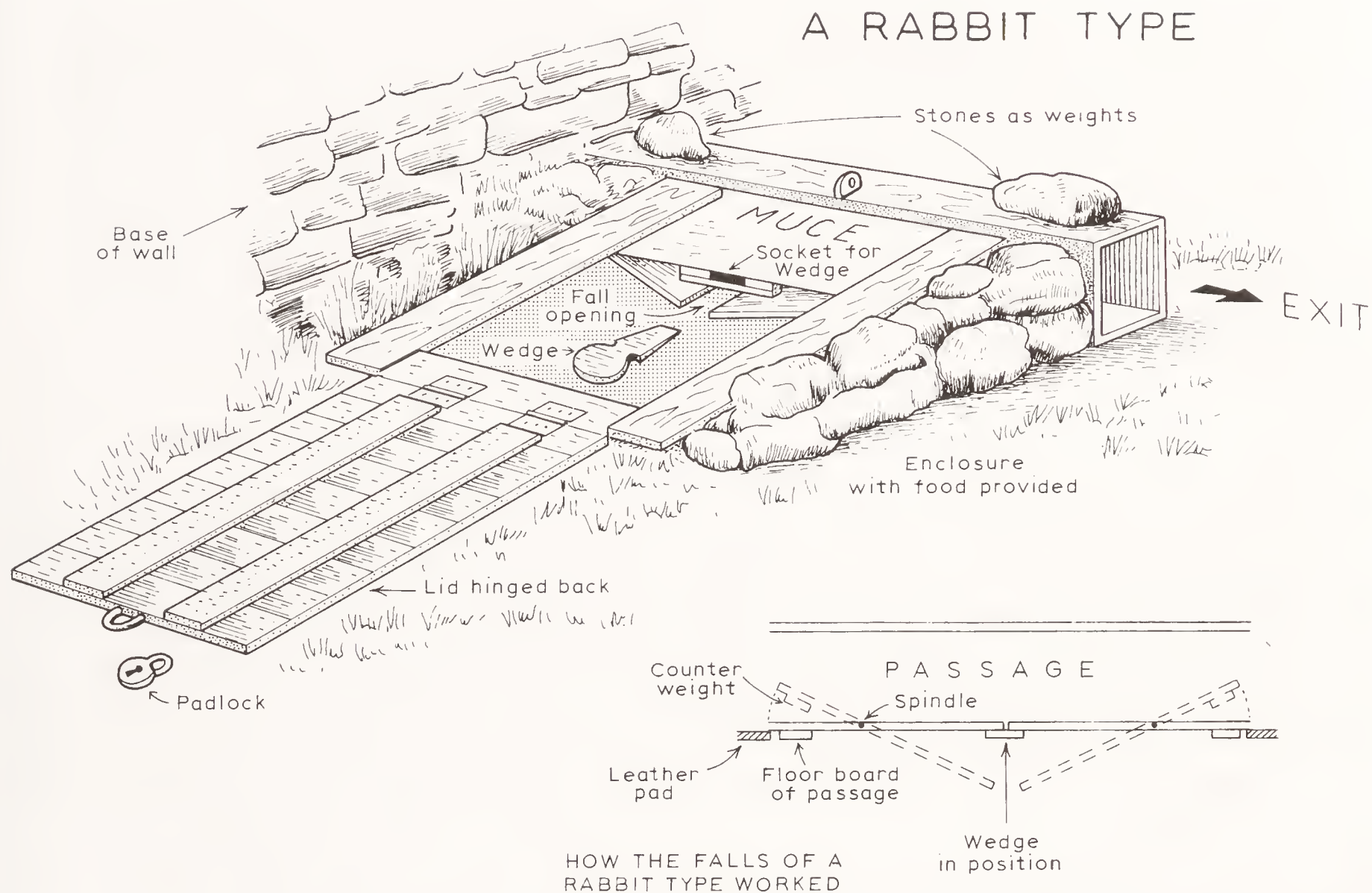


Fig. 6. A rabbit type, as shown by T. P. Horner in 1955. Reproduced with permission from the *Dalesman*, Vol. 17, May 1955.

4. Trackways

Efficient transport between the warren house and the rabbit types was essential, especially for the larger warrens. Fig. 7, from the Ordnance Survey map of 1854, shows the trackways in parts of Allerston and Dalby warrens, and their relationships to the types. They enabled fodder and equipment to be brought to the types and rabbits to be taken away. In fact, many of the surviving major types lie on, or near, the present forestry roads, for the foresters frequently adopted the warreners' tracks. They tend to be curvilinear and can be distinguished from the modern foresters' roads which are usually straight.

5. The Use of Early Earthworks in Warrening

The warrens lie on a terrain which contains many ancient dykes (ditches-and-banks), some of them single, some, particularly between Givendale Head and Wydale Head, of massive multiple construction. Undoubtedly the warreners used these earthworks in their operations, but it is not always clear for what purposes. Knox complained in 1855 that 'such antiquities (the dykes) have also been much defaced among rabbit warrens, as may be seen at the Scamridge war-dykes (multiple dykes) which were very strong fortification works.'³² Snainton Dyke, which is a double dyke lying between Ebberston and Snainton Moors, is surmounted for its whole length by a turf wall which might have formed an eastern boundary of High Scamridge Warren. There are three rabbit type enclosures marked on the 1854 6" map lying adjacent to Givendale Upper Dyke, which

32. R. Knox. 1855. *Descriptions geological, topological and antiquarian in East Yorkshire between the Humber and the Tees*. London 1855, 118.

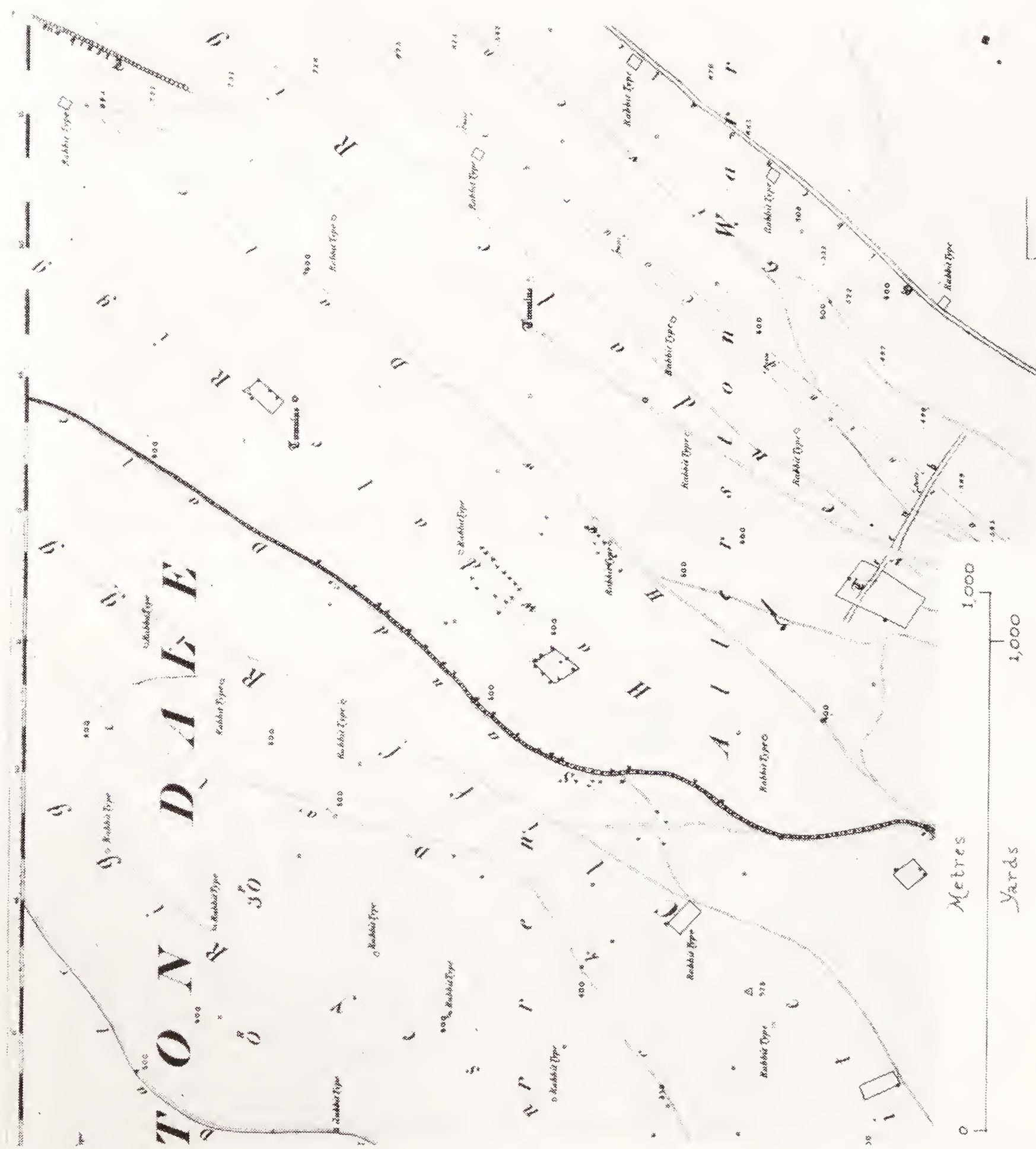


Fig. 7. Part of Dalby and Allerston in the 1850s, showing warrens, trackways and pit traps. Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey 6" map, Yorkshire 92, surveyed 1848/50, published 1854.

runs along the east bank of Givendale, completely within Allerston Warren. There were rabbit types built into the cross-rigg dykes on Stoneclose Rigg (High Dalby) and Far Black Rigg (Lockton), and on Ellerburn Bank Dyke. A rabbit type is also marked within Cockmoor Dykes at the northern end. It is within the series of small dykes, which lie on the west flank of the six prehistoric dykes and were built apparently in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century contemporary with the warrening. There is no record of their building date or purpose, which remain conjectural. There was however no other industry in the area at that time which had the resources to build such earthworks. This was the eastern boundary of warrening operations until Baker's Warren is reached 4km. eastward, so a strengthened barrier to rabbits could have been important at this point, to prevent them straying into the arable fields lying to the east.

6. *Vegetation*

The modern forests have altered the vegetation of most of the warren areas profoundly. In a few places, such as Troutsdale Moor and the Bridestone Nature Reserve, lying to the north of Staindale, heather-covered moorland survives, with perhaps more scrub birch trees that would have endured in the warrens. Contemporary comment suggests that constant grazing by rabbits and sheep had a considerable effect on the character of the vegetation.³³ Coppices would have been necessary to provide the hazel branches recorded as winter feed. Coppiced hazel and ash survive in the northern part of Mount Misery warren, where the coppice stools are growing from the tops of the stone boundary and enclosing walls, possibly to protect the trees from the rabbits.

SOME INTERESTING WARRENS

1. *High and Low Dalby*

Although these warrens were managed from different farms, they are conveniently described together (Figs. 8 and 9). They lay on similar terrain and had similar histories. The former farmsteads of High and Low Dalby are situated in Dalby Dale, High Dalby having convenient access to its warren by the medieval Royal Road, which ran between Hackness and Lastingham.³⁴ The warrens are bounded by Staindale and Dalby Becks on the north and west. On the east, both are bounded by a large turf wall which can still be seen running between the heads of Dixon's Slack and Flaxdale. The bottoms of these two dry valleys complete the external boundaries of High and Low Dalby warrens respectively, but there are no walls through them at the present time, though a wall is indicated through Flaxdale on the 1854 OS map.³⁵ The boundary between High and Low Dalby warrens in 1776 ran north east up Seive Dale (no trace survives), then climbed out of the dale, to run eastward as a stone wall to the large turf wall on the eastern boundary (Fig. 8). By 1801 it had been moved to the top of the south bank of Seive Dale, where fragments of stone wall can still be seen, mainly at the western end.³⁶

33. The grazing on much of Dalby was described in 1920 as 'perfectly valueless' (DLO, *Surveyor General Mr. Prickard, Letters, Reports etc.*, no .6321, 13 October 1920). Comments on the vegetation at Dalby will be found also in C. Fox-Strangways, *The Jurassic Rocks of Britain*, Vol. 1 *Yorkshire* (London 1892), 482, where the effects of geology are emphasised.

34. This road is shown on all the plans of Dalby contained in DLO *Surveys of Duchy Estates, North Parts*. See also NYCRO, ZAA 'Plans and Surveys of several Estates within the Honor of Pickering by W. Willmott, J. Foord etc. in 1777).

35. The same is true of the boundaries of Flainsey, Whitecliffe and Allerston warrens along the bottom of Flax, Heck and Sand Dales. OS sheet 92 (1854) suggests that the boundaries in Flax and Sand Dales have disappeared since the map was drawn.

36. DLO 'Plan of the Estates belonging to His Majesty in right of his Duchy of Lancaster situate at Dalby, Wheeldale and Goathland' (1801). The alteration probably took place between 1789 and 1801 (DLO, Box 'Pickering Hill's Lease renewed 1802', where an account of expenditure since 1789 includes the item 'a Wall to divide Warrens').

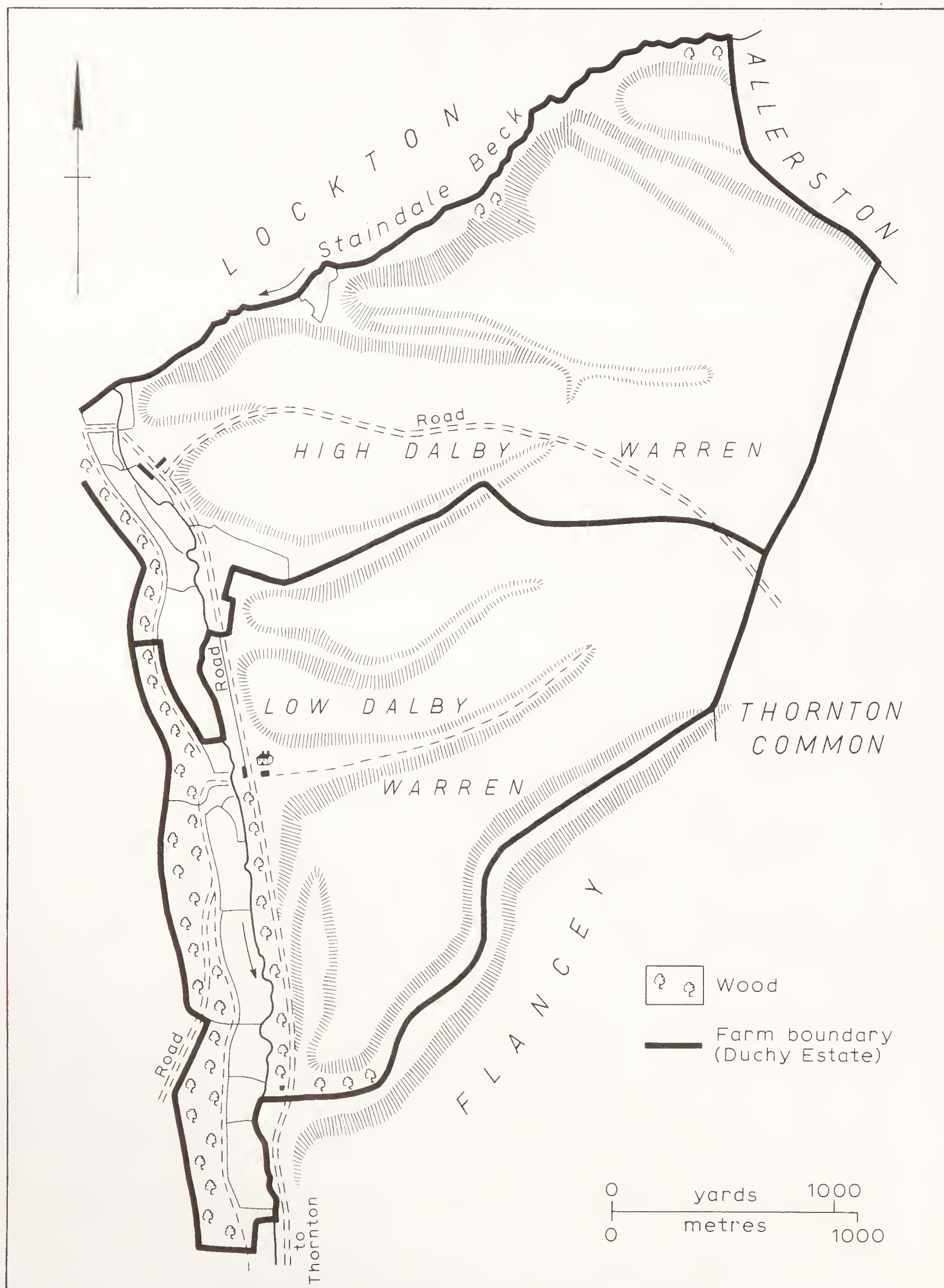


Fig. 8. The Dalby estate of the Duchy of Lancaster, c 1776. From a map in a volume of *Surveys of Duchy Estates, North Parts*, in the Duchy of Lancaster Office.

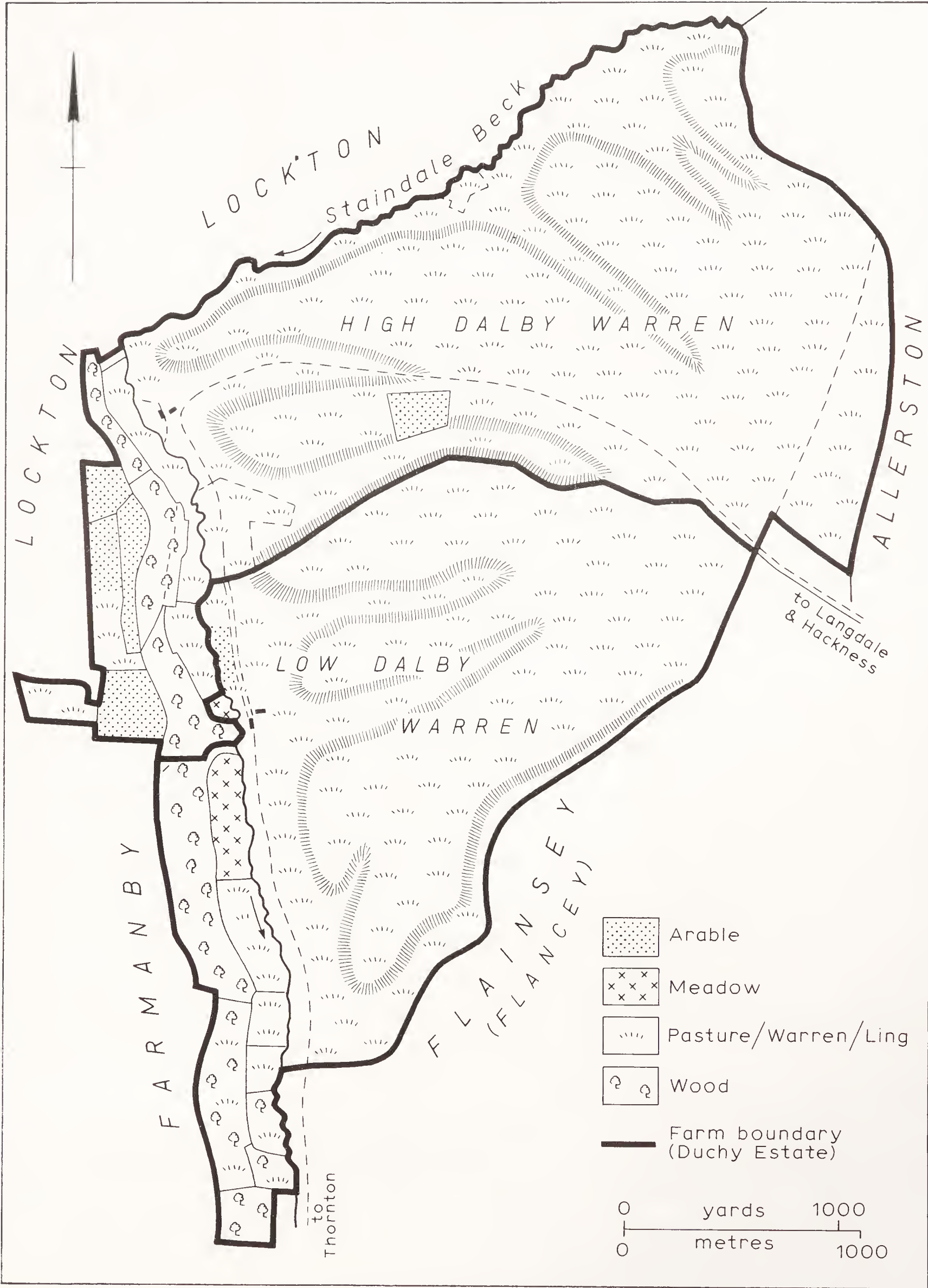


Fig. 9. The Dalby estate of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1814, showing land use. Source as for Fig. 8.

Fig. 9 shows the position of the wall in 1814.

Both warrens contain major rabbit enclosures, shown on the 1854 Ordnance map and still surviving, and 15 and 13 small types in High and Low Dalby warrens respectively (Table 2), many also still surviving. The large types at High Dalby are stone-walled quadrilaterals of about 0.6 and 2.2 hectares. These lie on a Corallian Limestone outcrop, as did another large enclosure of 3.9 hectares on Stoneclose Rigg. This was under arable cultivation in 1814 and was later to be incorporated into High Rigg Farm, where the pit traps of the farm warren were in use until *c.*1950.³⁷ It has on its northern side a well-preserved type with the muce and other woodwork still in place (Plate 1).

2. *Staindale Warren*

This comparatively small warren lies mainly on Adderstone Rigg, bounded on its south flank by High Dalby warren at Dixon's Slack, and on the north by Staindale. To its east it contained most of Worry Gill and a small area of Peathead Rigg beyond it. It lies mainly on Calcareous Grit, which has a wide strip of limestone running across it. On the latter lie two large arable fields, which were marked as such in 1847 as part of the holding (Fig. 10).³⁸ The warren is surrounded by a wall, in some places drystone, in others turf, which survive in exactly the same positions as shown on the 1847 map (Fig. 12). One rabbit type was shown at the boundary of the arable fields in 1854: this is no longer visible.³⁹ Nearby are the ruins of the buildings, already referred to.⁴⁰ Four other small types are shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1854, dispersed across the eastern half of the warren: three of these survive in good condition. In 1854 there were two more types lying outside the warren boundaries, but these no longer survive. The warren house was Staindale Farm, which lies in the dale to the north of the warren itself.

3. *Mount Misery*

This farm lies below the north scarp of Wykeham Forest, overlooking Troutsdale, on Oxford Clay, Kellaways Rock and Estuarine Sandstone. It is now a pastoral farm, which had at one time a small warren within its boundaries (Fig. 11). This is surrounded by a drystone wall, still mainly in good condition except at the eastern boundary of the warren, where it has recently been removed. On the northern wall a rabbit type can still be seen, and a stone-walled enclosure with no visible type. Overgrown coppice stools of ash and hazel can be seen growing from the tops of these walls. A double wall, the line of which can still be traced, separated the warren at Mount Misery from its neighbour at Knoll Grange. Rabbit types survive, one on the south wall of the warren, two within the warren, and one in a stone wall just outside the south west corner (Fig. 11). Their unusual structure has been referred to above. The 1854 Ordnance Survey map shows only one type, lying to the north of the farmhouse, which does not survive. The construction of types on this farm warren therefore seems to have continued after 1854.

A HISTORY OF WARRENING

Some reference has been made already to various aspects of the history of rabbit farming in the Tabular Hills. In the remainder of this paper, these are explored further in the light of field observations recorded in 1987-89.

37. *Ex Inf.* Mr. R. Laley, High Rigg Farm.

38. Hull City Record Office DBHT 9/1-2.

39. OS 6" Sheet Yorkshire 76, surveyed 1848-50, published 1854.

40. The 'barn' of 1847-48. The building is shown on the plan which accompanies a sale catalogue of the Allerston and Ebberston estate in 1920, but is not mentioned in the schedule itself (Hull City Record Office DBHT 9/908 for the schedule; Forestry Commission, Pickering, for the plan).

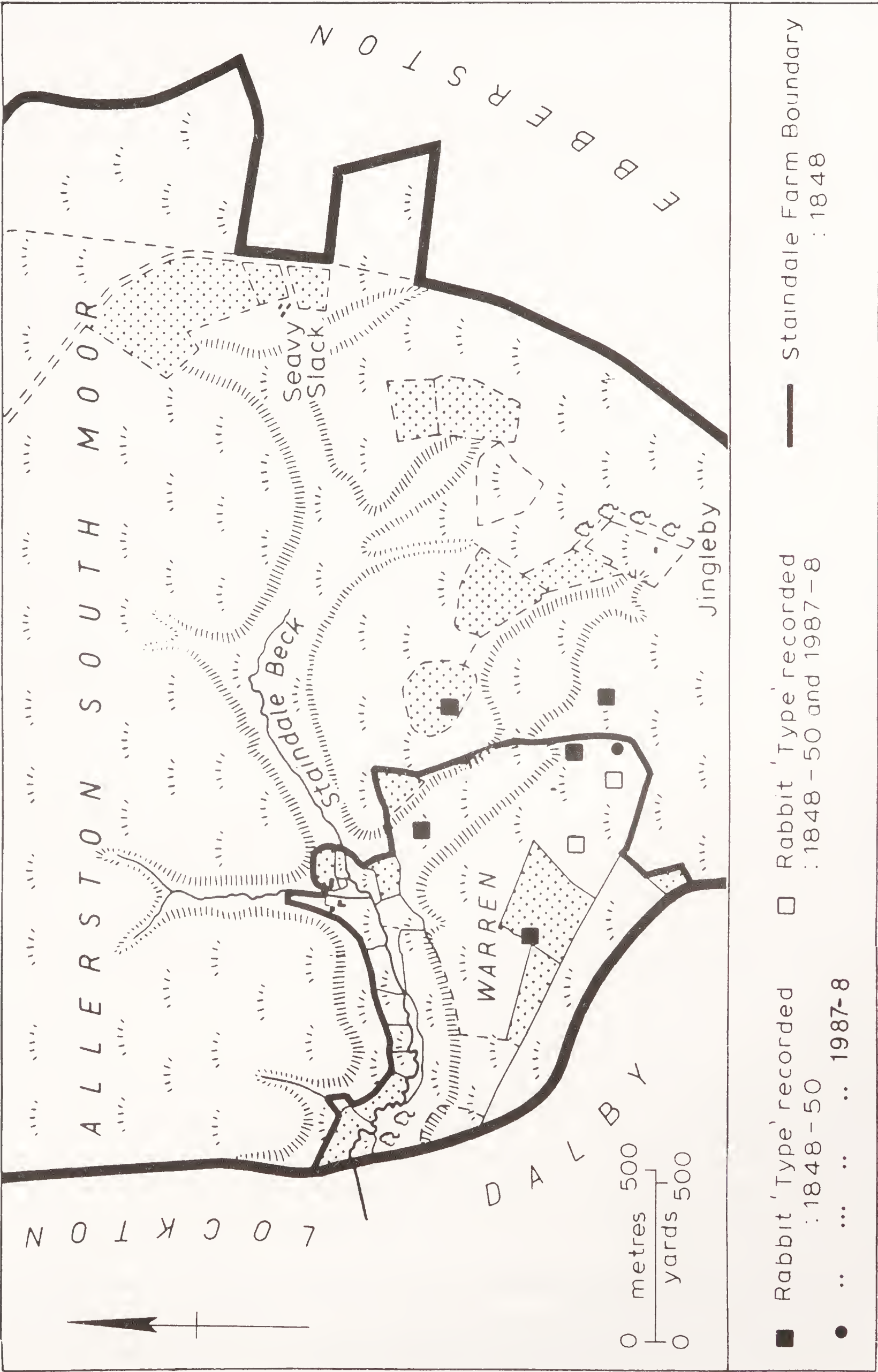


Fig. 10. Staindale Warren, showing pit traps. The base map is derived from Hull City Record Office, DBHT 9/1-2 (1847/48).

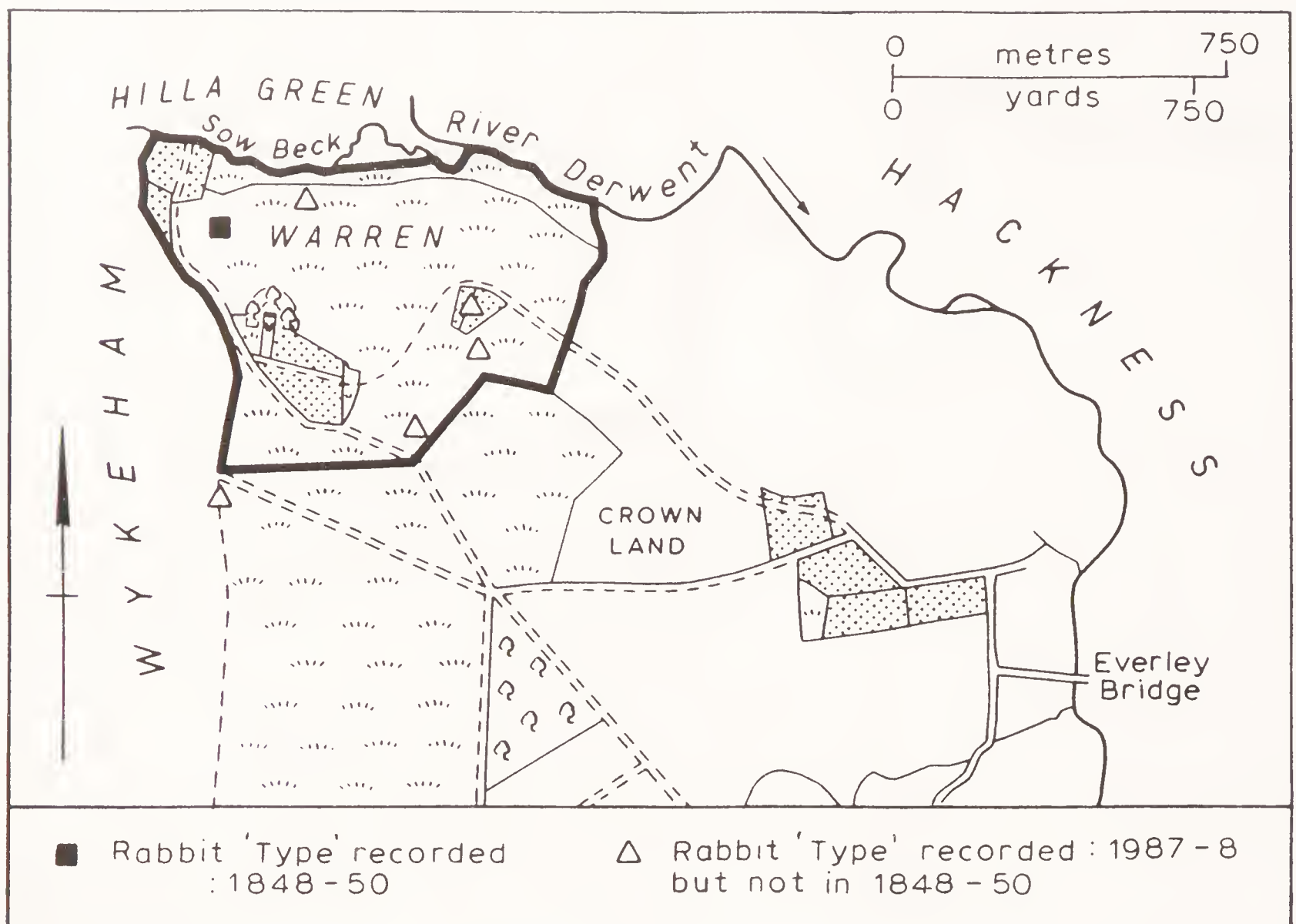


Fig. 11. Mount Misery, showing pit traps. The base map, and the details of land use, are taken from a plan and schedule in Hull University Library, DDCV 184/89, dated 1838 and 1839 respectively.

The Distribution of Warrens

The working warrens noted by George Young in 1817, are said by him to have occupied some 6,000 acres (2430 hectares) in the vicinity of Pickering, (Dalby (High) 1700 acres (690 hectares); Dalby (Low) 1100 (445); Allerston 1200 (486); Scamridge 700 (283); High Scamridge 400 (162); Cockmoor Hall 300 (121); Troutdale 400 (162); 2 or 3 smaller warrens as at Langdale End, total 6000 (2430). These were almost certainly the largest concentration of their kind in the North Riding.⁴¹ Furthermore, it is clear that, with one or two exceptions, Young's list includes most of the warrens that had been planted between Pickering and Scarborough during the previous two hundred years, a period which had seen a progressively larger area of the Tabular Hills devoted to rabbit farming. Warrens, some of which were then evidently newly formed, are recorded at Allerston, Ellerburn, Flainsey and both High and Low Dalby by the 1740s.⁴² Before the end of the eighteenth century further warrens had been created at Whitecliffe Rigg and Nabgate, above Thornton Dale and at Lockton.⁴³ Earlier than any of these were the warrens at Ebberston. Rabbits had been bred at Scamridge in the early years of the seventeenth century and rabbit farming was to continue there, or at some other place

41. Young, *op. cit.*, ii, 804.

42. Yorks. Archaeological Soc. MSS DD 32/B/5, for Allerston in 1737; Rushton *op. cit.*, 72-73, for Dalby, Flainsey and Ellerburn c 1730-1740.

43. *York Courant* 5 December 1786, for Whitecliffe Rigg; Marshall *op. cit.*, ii, 232 for Lockton; North Yorkshire County Record Office (hereafter NYCRO) CS (1799) and PR TND/4 (1911) for Nabgate.

within Ebberston, for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁴ In Young's day warrens were still being worked at High and Low Scamridge, though they had disappeared by 1854. The origins of commercial rabbit farming in Ebberston may be older still, represented perhaps by the acquisition of land there in January 1568/9 by John Craven, an Allerston skinner.⁴⁵ A Craven's Warren is recorded in Ebberston in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ Other warrens, probably unrecorded by Young because they were no longer in use, carry the history of rabbit farming back to at least the sixteenth century in the area of west of Pickering and to the later fifteenth century in Thornton Dale.⁴⁷

Some of the warrens recorded in 1817 remained active for much of the nineteenth century or longer. An outbreak of disease among rabbits was said in 1886 to threaten the tenant's livelihood at High Langdale End and to be causing problems at Dalby, where a further outbreak occurred a few years later.⁴⁸ As late as 1918, the Duchy of Lancaster's tenants at High and Low Dalby were required to leave at the end of their tenancy a suitable breeding stock of rabbits and during the tenancy itself they were allowed to cut hazel branches with which to feed the rabbits in winter.⁴⁹ The warrens at Knoll Grange (Baker's Warren) and Mount Misery similarly continued in use until the present century.⁵⁰ Even when a warren was formally abandoned, it was often impossible to destroy the whole of the breeding stock, which subsequently established feral colonies.⁵¹ Rabbit catching survived as a routine task on many local farms, contributing to farm income and keeping alive the skills required to build and maintain the pit traps of the district.⁵² The decision to create a farm warren must indeed in many cases have followed from the multiplication of feral colonies outside the extensive warrens.⁵³ Descendants of survivors of the myxomatosis period are still a nuisance to the modern forester.

Only a small proportion of the land that might be considered suitable for rabbits because of its physical qualities was in fact so used. According to Marshall, the principal impediment to the further development of warrens in the Tabular Hills lay in the pattern of landholding, which in many places was 'too intermixed' to be attractive to would-be rabbit farmers.⁵⁴ Only where a large area of land could be 'collected together', as Marshall put it, were the economies of scale that followed from the creation of a large warren likely to be fully realised.⁵⁵ Marshall's observations appear to be well founded. Thus the Duchy of Lancaster's farms at Dalby formed together a compact estate which had been held in severalty for many years by the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ The neighbouring property of Flainsey was described in 1781 as old enclosure, while the use of Whitecliffe Rigg as warren followed the elimination of common rights on what had been part of the

44. Hull University Library (subsequently referred to as HUL), DDHO 52/4 (1613); 52/83 (1632/3); 52/89 (1628/9); 14/4 *et seq.*, late seventeenth century; BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 3, for the eighteenth century. DDHO 14/11 (1698) records the repair of a warren house at Ebberston.

45. HUL DDHO 52/1, 26 January 1568/9.

46. BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 3.

47. *Ex inf.* Mr. J. Rushton for the district west of Pickering. North Riding Record Soc., New Series i, *The Honor and Forest of Pickering*, (ed. R. B. Turton 1894), 189.

48. DLO Box 11 E8, 'Report by J. L. Bolden on Hill's Leases', 5 November 1886; *Surveyor General, Letters, Reports etc.*, 1898, no. 3050, 29 September 1898. Both High and Low Dalby were affected in 1886. The years between 1880 and 1898 saw a number of such outbreaks in Yorkshire (A. D. Middleton, 'Periodic fluctuations in British game populations', *J. Animal Ecology*, 3 (1934), 231-233.

49. DLO *Enrolments of Leases*, 42 (1913-1933), 185, 193.

50. NYCRO ZDS IV/1/5/11(1888); 1/5/17(1891); 1/5/18(1902).

51. BIHR CCDY 9 Pic 3, Jane Osbaldeston to the Dean of York, 15 January 1808, where this problem is mentioned at Allerston.

52. *Ex inf.* Mr. W. Nesfield.

53. The spread of the rabbit is discussed in J. Sheail, 'The Rabbit', *Biologist* 31 (1984), 135-140.

54. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 232.

55. *Ibid.*, 232.

56. Rushton, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

pastures of Thornton and Farmanby.⁵⁷ Much the same was to happen later in the eighteenth century, when common rights were extinguished on other parts of the same pastures.⁵⁸

The principal beneficiaries of the enclosure of Thornton and Farmanby were members of the Hill family, whose ancestors had long before acquired the lease of Dalby from the Duchy of Lancaster and the lease of a substantial property in Ellerburn nearby from the Dean and Canons of Windsor.⁵⁹ The family held other land of their own. For practical purposes these properties were treated as a single agricultural estate.⁶⁰ When, therefore, Whitecliffe Rigg and other areas of former common were acquired at enclosure, at the end of the eighteenth century, they were added to the family's old enclosed lands at Flainsey and were farmed from Low Dalby.⁶¹ The decision to use the newly awarded land for rabbits may not have been difficult, therefore, as it formed a natural extension of the older warrens at Dalby, Ellerburn and Flainsey, which were already held by tenants of the estate. One warren might indeed attract another, as Robert King explained in the case of Allerston. Because Allerston Low Moor was 'almost surrounded by Warrens', the best way of improving its value was thought to be to turn the moor itself into yet another warren (Fig. 2a).⁶²

Not altogether fortuitously, therefore, the larger warrens came to form part of a belt of moorland and rough pasture which occupied much of the Tabular Hills beyond the principal improved grounds of the dip-slope parishes. Although their position did not remove the possibility that a warren might share a common boundary with improved land, it did nevertheless limit the areas where such contact might occur and give rise to dispute.⁶³ If, as would seem likely, the large post-medieval warrens of the district had been preceded by others further down the dip-slope, then the partial separation of warren and improved land apparent in the eighteenth century would have been for many a most welcome feature.⁶⁴

The advantages that followed from a decision to create a warren were likely to be most obvious on low-rented land. Much of Low Dalby, for example, was worth no more than 1s. an acre 'for the common purposes of husbandry', according to Marshall, yet its 1867 acres (756 hectares) which included 1800 acres of warren and sheepwalk, produced in 1787 an annual rent of £300, or three times as much as might have been expected in the absence of a warren.⁶⁵ However, gains of this order were not likely to be realised everywhere. Much of the high moorland lying to the north of the Tabular Hills was

57. *York Courant*, 5 December 1786; NYCRO Enclosure Awards BR (1781).

58. NYCRO Enclosure Awards CS (1799).

59. The following surveys among the archives of the Dean and Canons of Windsor cover the leasehold estate: CC 120138 (1755); CC 120137 (1803); CC 120139 (1803-1824). We are grateful to Mrs. Grace Holmes, Hon. Archivist, The Aerary, St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, for her assistance with these and other documents at Windsor. The involvement of the Hill family locally can be traced in R. W. Jeffery, *Thornton-le-Dale* (Wakefield 1931), esp. Chapter 14.

60. 'The worst thing I like is, that Mr. Hill continues to mix portions of his own Freehold with the Leasehold in such a manner as may prove prejudicial to the Latter' (F. Dodsworth to the Rev. M. Wilson, 11 October 1789. Windsor archives, XVII 4.32). The complex structure of the Hill's estate is remarked upon also in BIHR CCDY 9 Pic., 4, Mr. Wm. Harding's Acct. of the Glebe etc. in the Under Leases' (1775).

61. Because of this, the size of 'Low Dalby' varies considerably, according to the source of the information. The Duchy records refer to a smaller area than was *farmed* from Low Dalby by successive tenants of the Hill family. HUL DDCB 21/35 is a late eighteenth century survey of the Hill's estate.

62. NYCRO ZDS XVII 4/15, 'Remarks on the Tithes of Allerston' (nd).

63. Problems associated with the presence of warrens are recorded in Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. MSS DD 32/B/5 (Allerston); HUL DDHO 13/11 (Ebberston); DDHO 59/15 (Wilton). Mr. N. Creaser drew our attention to the Wilton entry.

64. Turton (ed.), *op. cit.*, 189.

65. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 233.

thought to be too wet and too difficult of access to support commercial rabbit farming, and was excluded from serious consideration for this purpose.⁶⁶ But for many local landowners, the option of keeping rabbits was a real one, as it was at Wykeham, where the planting of a warren was one of three alternatives considered in 1731 as a means of improving the value of a farm; the others being to introduce turnips and to apply lime.⁶⁷ For poor land, as Jane Osbaldeston observed in 1806, a warren was likely 'to answer best', especially when the alternatives might be more risky and more costly.⁶⁸ Richard Clapham, the Duchy's Steward for the Honor of Pickering, thought much the same 30 years later.⁶⁹ The problems of how best to use their poorest land pre-occupied landlords on the Tabular Hills throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, and the absence of any ready solution to the problem was to perpetuate rabbit farming long after it had disappeared from more productive agricultural areas. Warrens might indeed be abandoned only to be given new life when the alternatives that had been tried proved to be unsuccessful. Jane Osbaldeston records early in the nineteenth century that Allerston Low Moor had been used in turn as warren and game preserve during the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ When shooting alone failed to yield a sufficient return from the moor, the decision was taken to plant trees on some parts of the land and to resume commercial rabbit farming on others (Fig. 2a).

Some Comparative History

The creation of new warrens and reinstatement of old ones as late as 1800 suggests that warrening on the Tabular Hills had by this time begun to develop in ways that were to distinguish it from its counterpart on the Yorkshire Wolds, where rabbit warrens were destroyed more rapidly than they were created after c.1770 and were then usually converted into arable farms. Earlier in the eighteenth century, however, the two districts had shared much the same experience. Both had seen a growth in the importance of rabbit farming, and in both districts this had been accommodated by converting land from other uses. Arable land had been lost on the Wolds as a result, but an even larger acreage of warren appears to have been created there by using former sheepwalk for both sheep and rabbits.⁷¹ Most of the land required for the extensive warrens that developed on the Tabular Hills during the eighteenth century was provided by marginal upland pasture.⁷² The use of land for rabbits may well have been during the early years of the eighteenth century a convenient means of increasing production during a time of falling commodity prices.⁷³ Interest in rabbits was later sustained by a generally buoyant demand for skins and fur, the most valuable products of a warren. In this connection, the

66. The potential for improvement of different parts of the district is indicated, *inter alia*, in NYCRO ZDS XVII 4/15. Its wider context is discussed by J. Chapman, 'Parliamentary enclosure in the uplands: the case of the North York Moors', *Agricultural Hist. Rev.* 24 (1976), 1-17.

67. NYCRO ZDS IV 2/5/2 (1731), 'Rental and receipts for Wykeham, Ruston, etc.' (1698-1736).

68. BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 3. Jane Osbaldeston to the Dean of York, 10 November 1806, 15 January 1808.

69. DLO Box 12G6, 'Report of Mr. Clapham accompanying his Survey & Valuation of 24 September 1840'.

70. BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 3. Jane Osbaldeston to the Dean of York, 10 November 1806, 15 January 1808. Allerston warren was in operation in 1771, though its future was then apparently in doubt because of local opposition (NYCRO ZDS IV 13/2, 11 and 18 February, 21 April 1771). The warren had been reinstated by 1818 (BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 4, 'Valuation of Pickering Rectory').

71. The process can be traced in unusual detail in HUL DDSY 62/205 (Sledmere); BIHR CCP/SN9/SN1 (South Newbald). For other East Riding examples, Harris *op. cit.*, 429-443.

72. Much information on the subject of pastures is to be found in BIHR CCDY 9 Pic. 2, 3 and 4, which contain details of the pastures in Pickering, Allerston, Ebberston and other local townships. Further information is contained in Public Record Office (PRO) DL 41/94/8, 'Valuation of the Farms at Pickering in Lease to Mr. Hill', 18 July 1814.

73. The economic background is set out in J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, V 1640-1750* (Cambridge 1985), especially the Introduction to Vol. i. Local response, in Pickering, Middleton, Farmanby and other places, can be traced in Yorks Archaeol. Soc. MSS DD32.

disappearance of warrens from some districts helped warreners elsewhere by reducing the risk of over-production.⁷⁴ At the end of the Napoleonic wars, however, the price of skins fell sharply, from 16s a dozen in 1814 to 10s in 1819 and to 9s in the early 1820s. By 1827 they had fallen to 5s, their price some 60 years earlier.⁷⁵ Many of the warrens that still remained on the Wolds were destroyed at this time. Although one or two warrens, mainly on the better soils of the Tabular Hills, including Low Scamridge and probably Lockton, were abandoned during the first half of the nineteenth century, several of those listed by Young in 1817 survived to be mapped by the Ordnance Survey between 1848 and 1850 and to be visited by the Census enumerators at about the same time.⁷⁶ Some of the reasons for their survival have been touched on above. Such considerations may have been reinforced on the Hill estate by the complications of leasehold tenure. Thus a plan to reclaim some 300 acres (121 hectares) of warren at High Dalby involved, between 1856 and 1861, both the Duchy of Lancaster, as lessor, and the Rev. J. R. Hill as lessee. Hill agreed to carry out the necessary work and was to be reimbursed by the Duchy on completion. The lease was to reflect the value of the improvement. Since the reclaimed land would be farmed from High Dalby, the interests of Hill's tenant there were also affected. Perhaps not surprisingly, the land was reclaimed only after lengthy and detailed discussion between the Duchy and the lessee.⁷⁷

These events were almost certainly among the last of their kind in the district for many years to involve a significant extension of the cultivated area at the expense of warren, for in the closing decades of the nineteenth century the economic argument for reclaiming land began to fade rapidly. The economic difficulties of the time are reflected in the level of rents. High Langdale End, most of whose 1665 acres (674 hectares) consisted of moorland and rough grazing, was said in 1886 to have yielded little rent 'for some years'.⁷⁸ From £80 a year in 1886, the contract rent fell by 1895 to £70.⁷⁹ At High Dalby, where 1281 acres (519 hectares) had let for £170 a year in 1886, 1367 acres (553 hectares) were held for £165 in 1899, when there was still a breeding stock of 590 couple of rabbits on the farm.⁸⁰ At one time during 1898 only the sitting tenant was prepared to offer more than £50 a year in rent for 963 acres (390 hectares) of Duchy land at Low Dalby.⁸¹ It took the ploughing campaign of 1917-18 temporarily to extend the frontiers of improvement once more.⁸²

74. A. Young, *General View of the Agriculture of Suffolk* (London 1794), 44. See also *J. House of Commons* 30 (1765), 207; 60 (1784), 212, 381.

75. DLO Box 12G6, the Rev. J. Gilby to F. D. Danvers, 21 May 1828. The prices quoted are for Dalby. The price *c* 1765 is from A. Young, *op. cit.*, 44.

76. Hull City Record Office DBHT 9/1-2 (1847-48) has only an arable field called Low Warren to indicate that there might earlier have been a rabbit warren at Low Scamridge. William Smith, the geologist, was able to refer to 'the Rabbit Warren at Lockton' in 1830 (T. Sheppard, 'William Smith: his maps and memoirs', *Proc. Yorks. Geological Soc.* 19, 1914-1922, 230, but no later documentary record has been found. The Census schedules are an uncertain guide to the presence of a working warren, but PRO HO 107/1260 (1841) records Edward Splayfoot, warrener, Allerston, and HO 107/2373 (1851) has John Boddy, of High Dalby, as 'farmer and warrener'. Thomas Cross of Low Dalby is there similarly described. Both Boddy and Cross appear again under the same description in 1861 (HO RG9/3644). Elsewhere, Thomas Baker is recorded in 1851 at Knoll Grange as the farmer of 50 acres of land and 200 acres of warren (HO 107/2368). Although the warrens at Dalby were still active in 1881, the Census of that year describes the heads of household there simply as 'farmer' (HO RG11/4830).

77. DLO Box 12G6, 'Report of Mr. Clapham...' 24 September 1840; DLO *Minutes* 1855-57, 282, 391; *Minutes* 1857-59, 291; 1859-62, 345; 1862-64, 7, 157; 1866-67, 248.

78. DLO Box 11E8 'Report by J. L. Bolden on Hill's Leases', 5 November 1886.

79. DLO *Surveyor General Mr. Bolden, Letters, Reports etc.* 1895, nos. 2603 (29 March 1895), 2641 (16 July 1895).

80. DLO Box 11E8 5 November 1886 'Report by J. L. Bolden...'; DLO *Enrolments of Leases*, 27, p. 465, 27 March 1899.

81. DLO *Surveyor General, Letters, Reports etc.* 1898, no. 3050, 29 September 1898.

82. DLO Registered Letters, 69639 (3 May 1917); 69719 (24 May 1917).

The Management of Warrens

No contemporary account of warren management on the Tabular Hills has been found, and what follows is based largely on estate records. It was customary within living memory to feed turnips to the rabbits during the winter months when other sources of food were in short supply.⁸³ The roots were carted to the small enclosures identified above as being associated with pit traps. At an earlier period, some of these enclosures were themselves cultivated, as Fig. 12 shows, and in this form they may represent a stage of warren management when the cultivation of roots in small garths and larger closes was becoming recognised as a way of supplementing an older practice of feeding hay and cut branches.⁸⁴ Some of the enclosures may have been temporary, but others remained in use for many years, like the arable field of 9.8 acres (3.9 hectares) recorded on maps and in tenancy agreements at High Dalby from 1801 onwards.⁸⁵ No documentary evidence has been found for the practice of enclosing and cultivating parts of a warren in the systematic way described by Marshall and by Strickland for the Wolds.⁸⁶ It is of some interest in this connection that when sod walls and the marks of 'furrows left in ploughing' were found in 1840 on the site of the future High Rigg Farm, in the heart of High Dalby warren, the surveyor was unable after enquiry to offer any explanation for their presence.⁸⁷ These features may have been formed during the Napoleonic wars, when additional land was brought under the plough at Dalby, but the context suggests an earlier origin.⁸⁸ These, and similar walls found during the course of the present survey, may indicate an opportunistic attempt to cultivate warrens rather than be a sign of systematic management.

On management grounds alone, the warrener in the Tabular Hills probably had less need for arable land than his counterpart on the Wolds, where bark and branches of trees would be more difficult to come by, and where clover, sainfoin and roots were grown in larger quantities as fodder crops.⁸⁹ At Dalby 'a constant succession' of green bark was fed to the rabbits in winter, while the woods near High Langdale End provided 'a necessary supply of Hazels and other underwood' for the warren there (Fig. 12).⁹⁰ Attempts by the Duchy of Lancaster to improve the woods in these places by fencing and replanting met with the objection that, without access to woodland resources, no warrener could stay in business.⁹¹ It was usual for a warren to be run as part of a holding which produced other commodities besides rabbits. The presence of sheep and cattle ensured, among other things, that grazing was used efficiently throughout the year.⁹² Arable fields and enclosed grasslands beyond the warren walls were a source of roots, cereal crops and hay. On many warren holdings, the outbuildings recorded in surveys

83. *Ex inf.* Mr. R. E. Corney, retired forester.

84. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 266.

85. DLO 'Plan of the estates belonging to His Majesty in right of his Duchy of Lancaster situate at Dalby, Wheeldale and Goathland...' 1801; *Enrolments of Leases*, 27 (1898-1899), 465.

86. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 261-262; Strickland, *op. cit.*, 247.

87. DLO Box 12G6 'Report of Mr. Clapham... 24 September 1840'. Plough marks of uncertain origin are reported in enclosures on Lakenheath Warren, Suffolk. B. Crompton and C. C. Taylor, *Proc. Suffolk Institute for Archaeology and Natural History*, 32 (1971), 113-120.

88. *Home Office Acreage Returns, Staffordshire-Yorkshire* (List and Index Soc. vol. 195, 1983), 144. The surveyor in 1840 attributed the features to events 'at some remote period'.

89. Strickland *op. cit.*, 250-251.

90. DLO Box 12G6 'Report of Mr. Clapham... 24 September 1840'; PRO DL39/13/1, 'A Report on the present state and condition of her Majesty's Woodlands in and about the Neighbourhood of Pickering' (1840); Windsor archives XVII 4.29, 12 December 1788, for the use of 'garsell', or underwood.

91. DLO Box 12G6 correspondence (e.g. R. Hill to F. D. Danvers, 9 June 1840; R. Clapham to F. D. Danvers, 12 May 1840).

92. Sheep were kept 'to eat down such kinds of Grass as Coneyes will not eat' (NYCRO ZDS XVII 4/15). Much the same point was made in an account of Lakenheath Warren, Suffolk, in 1835:— 'the grass they eat is chiefly that the rabbits Refuse' (PRO LRRO 67/53).

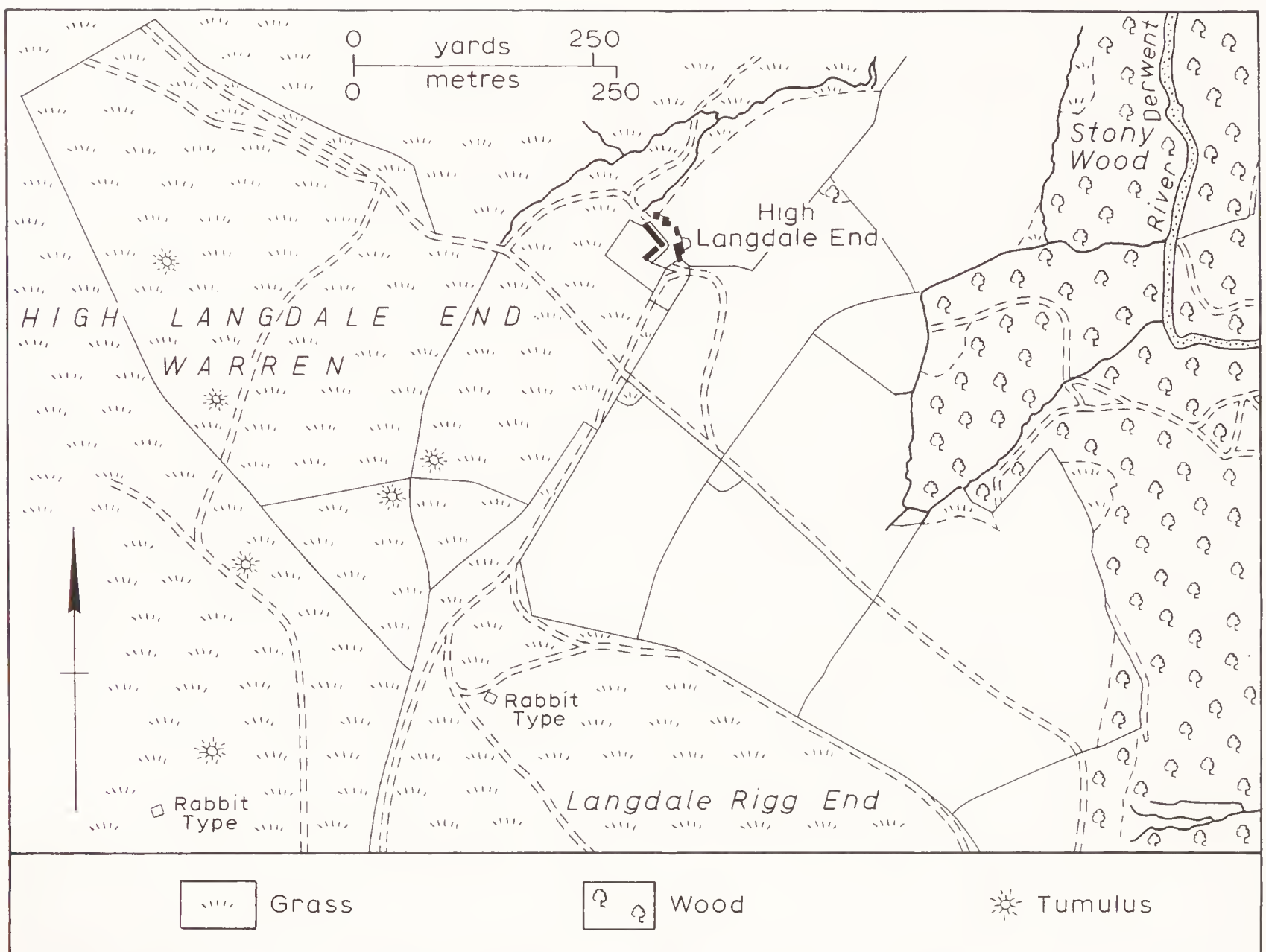


Fig. 12. High Langdale End. Redrawn from Ordnance Survey 25" map, Yorkshire (NR) LXI:16. Re-surveyed 1890, revised 1910 and published in 1912.

and tenancy agreements reflect normal farming requirements rather than any obvious interest in rabbits.⁹³

Such documents, however, do provide information about the size of the breeding stock of rabbits kept on the holding. With 1160 couple of rabbits in 1787 and 2000 couple in 1802, High Dalby carried between two and four rabbits to the acre (five to ten/hectare) during the winter months, or rather less than Low Dalby, where from four to six (ten to fifteen/hectare) are recorded.⁹⁴ How many of these and of their progeny were subsequently harvested is uncertain, but at Low Hunsley, on the Wolds, an average kill of nine rabbits to the acre (approximately 22/hectare) was achieved between 1793 and 1800, which was close to the yield postulated by Strickland for a warren in good heart.⁹⁵ At this rate the largest warren in the district would have produced more than 16,000 rabbits in a normal year, and the warrens listed by Young in 1817 would have yielded at least 54,000 rabbits during the same period.⁹⁶ To these would be added an unknown, but large, number of animals caught elsewhere.

93. This remark is based on examination of surveys and agreements in DLO.

94. DLO Box 11E8, Terrier of Richard Hill, 1787; Box 'Pickering, Hill's Lease Renewed 1802'.

95. HUL DDDU 10/55 3 October 1801 (Hunsley). The low yield recorded in 1799 is explained in the document by reference to a 'hard winter'; Strickland *op. cit.*, 248.

96. The calculation is based on the 1800 acres (728 hectares) of warren and sheepwalk advertised to let at Low Dalby in 1786 (*York Courant*, 5 December 1786). Of this, 792 acres (320 hectares) would have been warren within the Duchy lease. The warrens listed by George Young (*op. cit.*, 804) occupied some 6,000 acres (2430 hectares).

Markets and Marketing

In Young's day the principal markets for skins were to be found among the hatters of Scarborough, Whitby, Pickering, Malton and York.⁹⁷ It is likely that other places were included in the trade also, for directories list hatters and furriers, and sometimes skinnners, in towns and villages no further distant from the Tabular Hills than places mentioned by Young.⁹⁸ Traffic in skins, mostly those of the common grey rabbit, extended well beyond the local region, however, to Manchester and London.⁹⁹ Contacts of this kind were already old by the later eighteenth century, when they were noted by Marshall. In January 1733/4, for example the *Elizabeth*, of Scarborough, left her home port for London with a cargo which included six packs of coney skins, besides calf skins, beeswax and cured fish.¹⁰⁰ Two months later four similar packs contributed to the cargo of the *Jane*, also of Scarborough.¹⁰¹ With them were calf skins, bottles of spa water, hams, bacon and cured fish, suggesting that this cargo too may have been assembled locally. Like the *Elizabeth*, the *Jane* was eventually unloaded in London. Traffic in local skins was undoubtedly well established even before 1700, though its details remain obscure. An isolated reference to the sale in 1697 of '17 peaces of fur at 7/- p.peace' from a warren at Ebberston occurs only because the warren happened to be in hand at the time: had the warren been occupied by a tenant in the usual way, the sale would not have passed through the steward's books.¹⁰² The Ebberston sale occurred in March, at the end of the winter season, which everywhere provided the principal harvest of rabbits. In these circumstances it was important that warrens should be accessible, for even if the skins could be stored for a time, this was not possible if the meat was to be sold also. The warreners of the Tabular Hills shared with those of the Wolds and the Vale of York the considerable geographical advantage of being both close to ports of export and within reach of urban markets.¹⁰³ The eighteenth-century road improvements may well have facilitated such contacts, and influenced the siting of warrens.

SUMMARY

Although earlier features might for convenience be used by warreners, most of those which survive in the Tabular Hills in association with rabbit farming would appear to date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴ Warrenning increased in importance locally during the eighteenth century, occupying more land as it did so and creating distinctive features. Traditional forms of warrenning continued until comparatively recent years, when a number of former warrens passed into the ownership of the Forestry Commission. Although the felling and replanting of mature plantations has sometimes led to the destruction or mutilation of archaeological remains, and others have disappeared as a result of more intensive systems of farming, a great many survive

97. G. Young *op. cit.*, 804.

98. Edward Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York* (Leeds 1823, David and Charles reprint, 1969), 419 (Brompton), 454 (Helmsley).

99. Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 268. See also P. M. Giles, 'The felt-hatting industry c. 1500-1850 with particular references to Lancashire and Cheshire', *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* lxix 1959 (1960), *passim*.

100. PRO E190 364/3. In May 1734 the *Lion* left Scarborough for Archangel with two dozen hats in her cargo. It is not clear whether these were of local manufacture (PRO E190 364/3).

101. PRO E190 364/3.

102. HUL DDHO 14/10 (1697).

103. For the Hull market in the later nineteenth century see Horner, *op. cit.*, 88.

104. For some discussion on this point see B. G. Drummond and D. A. Spratt, 'Cockmoor Dykes and Rabbit Warrenning', *Ryedale Historian* (1984), 22-30, and subsequent correspondence in the same journal.

in good condition.¹⁰⁵ As elements in a landscape which once owed much to the influence of rabbit farming, they are among the most interesting and best of their kind to be found in the north of England.

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105. Steps are being taken to conserve at least a selection of these.

MANCHESTER COLLEGE AT YORK (1803-1840): ITS INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

By David L. Wykes

In 1803 Manchester College moved to York, where the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, the newly appointed Theological Tutor and Principal, was minister of St. Saviourgate Chapel. The College, the last of the great nonconformist academies, has been the subject of a number of recent studies. Nonetheless, although its association with York has been noted locally, the consequences for the city and region have not been considered in detail. What did it mean, therefore, to have the College at York? After the collapse of Hackney College in 1796 and the closure of the much smaller academy at Exeter in 1805, Manchester College stood alone amongst nonconformist academies in maintaining the liberal tradition of religious liberty and freedom of individual conscience. The College was exceptional in providing a training suitable for the Unitarian ministry and a lay education for the sons of wealthy liberal dissenters in the North. Because Rational Dissenters and Unitarians were so much in the forefront of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century reform movements the provision of such an education cannot be underestimated. In addition, the College brought to York as tutors some of the leading scholars of the day, who with Wellbeloved were to make their mark on the intellectual and political life of the city.

The tutors who served the College at York were undoubtedly men of ability and scholarship. John Kenrick, the Classics Tutor from 1810, was to gain a reputation as one of the country's leading classicists.¹ His translations were widely admired, and through his pupils and writings he was responsible for helping to introduce to this country the main nineteenth-century advances in German historical criticism and philology. On his death in 1877, *The Times* described him as "indisputably the greatest nonconformist scholar of our day".² Of his two predecessors as Classics tutor at York, Hugh Kerr had been no mean scholar, passing first out of every class at Glasgow University, while Kerr's successor, Theophilus Browne, was a former fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.³

The other tutor appointed with Kenrick in 1809, William Turner, might not have matched his colleagues in scholarship. The nineteenth-century historian, Joseph Hunter, a student at York during the early years, thought Turner had "little of original thinking, and nothing striking in his way of illustration". Nonetheless, Turner was a sound science teacher and a good mathematician.⁴ There is, however, little doubt as to

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1. Although appointed in 1809 Kenrick did not in fact take up his appointment until 1810, after he had completed his degree at Glasgow University. V. D. Davis, *A History of Manchester College: From Its Foundation in Manchester to Its Establishment in Oxford* (London, 1932), p. 78.
 2. *The Times*, 26 May 1877, quoted in J. Seed, 'Manchester College, York: An Early Nineteenth Century Dissenting Academy', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* (1982) XIV, p. 12; R. Watts, 'Manchester College and Education, 1786-1853' in *Truth, Liberty, Religion: Essays Celebrating Two Hundred Years of Manchester College* ed., B. Smith (Oxford, 1986) p. 89; H. McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931) pp. 267-8.
 3. Davis, *History of Manchester College*, p. 76; British Library [hereafter BL], Add MS 24,442, Joseph Hunter, 'Collectanea Hunteriana Volume VIII being Memoirs to serve for a History of Protestant Dissenters', fo.3^r Kerr was tutor in Classical Literature, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from 1803 to 1807, and Theophilus Browne for two years between 1807 and 1809.
 4. BL, Add MS 36,527, Joseph Hunter, 'Biographical Notices of some of my contemporaries who have gained some celebrity' fo.57^r.

the ability of William Hincks, who succeeded Turner as Mathematics Tutor in 1827. Hincks was a Botanist of note, and his scholarship in the field of Natural Science was widely recognised. He was subsequently Professor of Natural History, first at Queen's College, Cork, and later at Toronto.⁵

In addition, the scholarship of Wellbeloved was considerable. Besides Greek, Latin and Hebrew, he could read Arabic, Syriac and Chaldee. He was also fluent in French and Italian, and read German.⁶ In the early 1820s he engaged in a controversy with the eminent churchman Archdeacon Wrangham, successfully demolishing the latter's arguments against Unitarianism. The replies Wellbeloved published in answer to the Archdeacon gained him "a foremost place among the defenders of the Unitarian cause" and were much admired.⁷ Moreover, Wellbeloved had a considerable reputation as biblical scholar, and for many years was involved in the task of preparing a new translation of the Old Testament. Some 20 years after having been a student, Joseph Hunter remembered, in particular, the depth of Wellbeloved's theological knowledge, besides his great familiarity with the classics and interest in natural history. Another student, the distinguished theologian James Martineau, paid a similar tribute.⁸

Wellbeloved's responsibilities as Principal and Theological Tutor, combined with his weekly duties as minister, would have taxed the energies of any man. It is therefore all the more remarkable that he was so active in the public affairs of the city: according to his son-in-law, Wellbeloved "joined in every movement for social, religious, and political reform".⁹ Indeed, it is probably true to say no other man played such a significant part in the political, intellectual and scholarly life of York during the first half of the nineteenth century. In part this is explained by the length of his ministry, 66 years in all. After Wellbeloved had retired as Principal of the College in 1840 at the age of 71, he entered on a new career. During the next two decades until his death in 1858, he was largely responsible as the historian of Roman York for the interpretation and preservation of the city's historic past. As Hunter remarked, despite the general dislike of Unitarian opinions, "such a mind in such a place cannot but have risen into distinction & influence".¹⁰

It is inconceivable that York could have attracted three leading Unitarian scholars without the College, and their presence in a city otherwise dominated by local landed interests and the Cathedral, had profound consequences for social and political reform and for the intellectual life of the City. Nonetheless, the significance of the College's residence in York extends beyond the activities of its tutors to include the education it provided and the students themselves.

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5. Davis, *History*, pp. 93-4; F. Holt, 'The Hincks Family', *Transaction of the Unitarian Historical Society* [hereafter TUHS] (1944) VIII, pp. 84-5. Hincks was also editor, for the first five years, of the weekly Unitarian newspaper, *The Inquirer* W. G. Tarrant, 'Some Chapters in the Story of "The Inquirer"', TUHS (1927) IV, 36-7.
 6. J. Kenrick, *A Biographical Memoir of the Late Charles Wellbeloved* (London, 1860) pp. 236-7.
 7. Kenrick, *Biographical Memoir*, pp. 151, 152-4. For evidence of the excellent impression Wellbeloved's *Letters* created, see 'The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh: I' ed., E. Hughes, *Surtees Society for the Year 1956* (1962) p. 185; H. McLachlan, *Alexander Gordon (9 June 1841 - 21 February 1931): A Biography with a Bibliography* (Manchester, 1932) p.3. Gordon's father, originally a Methodist preacher was also influenced by Wellbeloved's *Letters*, he was to become a Unitarian minister.
 8. Seed, 'Manchester College', p. 12; Manchester College, Oxford, Eyre Evans MS, Vol. II, fo.1^v, Letter of John Luccock, Leeds, to Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, [17] Sept. 1825; Dr. Williams's Library, London, [hereafter DWL] MS 24.81 (28), Dr. Southwood Smith, London, to Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, 29 Nov. 1845; BL, Add MS 36,527, fos.49^r-50^r; J. E. Carpenter, *James Martineau: Theologian and Teacher* (London, 1905) p. 31.
 9. Kenrick, *Biographical Memoir*, p. 206.
 10. DWL, MS 24.81 (23), Rev. Joseph Hunter, London, to Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, 16 Mar. 1840; BL, Add MS 36,527 fo.49^v.

II

The college had originally been founded at Manchester in 1786 to replace the celebrated Warrington Academy, which had finally been dissolved that year. A distinguished set of tutors had also served the College during the earlier period. They included the chemist, John Dalton, whose work on atomic theory was to gain international recognition, and for a short time William Stevenson, the father of Mrs. Gaskell the novelist. Though the College was established with high hopes, the period at Manchester saw a constant struggle to maintain solvency, and on two occasions at least the College very nearly closed as a result. The difficulties were largely the result of the political situation which then prevailed. Rational Dissenters and Unitarians, like all radicals, suffered severely during the 1790s because of the political reaction to the French Revolution. As a consequence, many supporters of the College lost heart, and disciplinary difficulties, a peculiar embarrassment for all theological colleges, were an increasing problem. Not surprisingly, it became difficult to secure new tutors to replace those who resigned. As a consequence, the resignation of the Principal, George Walker, in 1802 precipitated a further crisis.¹¹

There is no doubt that if Wellbeloved had not accepted the invitation to succeed Walker the College would have closed. Instead, in 1803 it moved to York, where Wellbeloved had been at St Saviourgate Chapel since 1792.¹² During the early years the chronic financial difficulties persisted. Nevertheless, gradually the finances improved following renewed confidence in the College. Sufficient benefactions and subscriptions were made for the appointment of a third tutor in 1809, and in 1812 for the purchase of a row of houses in Monkgate for student accommodation.¹³ The College remained at York for a total of 37 years. In 1840 it returned to Manchester, before moving to London in 1853, in order to take advantage of the degree courses offered by the University of London. Finally, in 1889, the College made its last move, to Oxford to its present site in Mansfield Road.¹⁴

The importance of the survival of the College should be stressed. Manchester College during the period at York was the last of the great nonconformist academies. After the dissolution of Warrington in 1786, considered by historians to be one of the greatest centres of learning in the eighteenth century, the north of England was without an academy of its own for the first time in over a hundred years. By the first decade of the nineteenth century Manchester College stood alone in upholding a liberal tradition in education. No other institution in England was maintained on these lines. The consequences of the possible collapse of the College were therefore potentially serious, both for liberal congregations seeking well-educated ministers and for wealthy parents wanting to provide their sons with a higher education free from any religious subscription.¹⁵

11. For a discussion of the financial state of the College, see my 'Sons and Subscribers: Lay Support and the College' in *Truth, Liberty, Religion*, ed., Smith, pp. 43-7; for the difficult political background of the period of the French Revolution, see my "'The Spirit of Persecutors exemplified': The Priestley Riots and the victims of the Church and King mobs", *TUHS*, XX, No. 1 (April 1990) [forthcoming]; for a general account of the College during this period, see Davis, *History of Manchester College*, pp. 53-70.

12. He was originally appointed as Assistant Minister, only becoming Minister on the death of the Rev. Newcome Cappe in 1799, but Cappe had suffered a paralytic stroke and so all the ministerial duties were in fact undertaken by Wellbeloved.

13. *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Catherine Cappe, Written by Herself* (London, 1821) pp. 381ff, 387ff; Manchester College, Oxford, 'Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee of the Manchester Academy' (1786-1810), pp. 152, 159, 167, 169, 172, 178-9, 192-97; 'Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee of the Manchester New College removed to York' (1810-1816), pp. 4, 8-9, 11-14.

14. Davis, *History*, *passim*.

15. *Memoirs...of Mrs. Catherine Cappe*, p. 386.

III

The College was exceptional both for the education it offered, and the principles upon which it was maintained. In terms of its curricula and methods, the education which Manchester College provided is acknowledged to have been amongst the best then available. The whole of the Cambridge mathematics course was taught at York. Moreover, although the tutors maintained the traditional stress upon the classics (without which it would have been impossible to have claimed to be sending forth educated men), the adoption of newer fields of study, such as history, political economy and the new sciences, placed the College in the forefront of contemporary educational progress. The principal purpose of the College was to prepare students for the ministry, but it was always intended to offer a liberal education to sons of wealthy lay families. The plan of studies therefore consisted of a five-year divinity course, of which the first three years were also intended to provide a comprehensive course for lay students. Nevertheless, Dr. Watts has demonstrated that the College attempted to offer an education especially relevant to the needs of the sons of the Unitarian elite: an education which aimed at producing enlightened, progressive and liberal young men capable of supplying the next generation of Unitarian leaders. Thus the tutors saw the teaching of certain subjects, in particular science, mathematics and political economy, and the encouragement of public speaking as especially important.¹⁶

By the early nineteenth century, following the closure of Hackney and Exeter Academies, Manchester College was unique amongst nonconformist academies in not requiring any religious subscription from its students and in providing an education suitable for the training of Unitarian ministers. The great majority of institutions, in order to secure their continued orthodoxy, enforced religious tests and subscriptions, and had as a consequence taken on the distinctive appearance of denominational seminaries intent upon providing a sectarian education for the ministry.¹⁷ It was rare even for those orthodox academies which did admit lay students to offer anything other than admission to the divinity course, and certainly nothing as extensive and valuable as that provided by Manchester College.

The insistence of the College upon freedom from subscription and its emphasis upon free enquiry after religious truth was fundamental. Unitarianism stressed the sufficiency of Scripture, arguing that reason was the only guide to truth. From their reliance upon reason, Unitarians came to reject the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity, original sin and atonement, on the basis that they lacked scriptural authority. Not surprisingly, the rejection of the most basic elements of orthodox faith aroused the hostility of all the other denominations. As Dr. Seed has pointed out, wealthy Unitarians were therefore faced with a difficult situation regarding the education of their sons: how to provide an education suited to their social position without undermining the family's Unitarianism.¹⁸

Truth is not of course restricted to one area alone. What holds true for rational religion can be applied to science, politics and every aspect of life. Likewise, advances made in other areas of knowledge, in particular the natural sciences, were also

16. Seed, 'Manchester College', p. 11; Watts, 'Manchester College & Education', pp. 91-93.

17. See my 'Dissenting Academy or Unitarian Seminary? Manchester College at York (1803-1840)', *TUHS, Society* (1988) XIX, pp. 102-4.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4; Seed, 'Manchester College', pp. 10, 15; [William Frend], 'Monthly Retrospect of Public Affairs or The Christian's Survey of the Political World', *Monthly Repository* (1812) VII, p. 717; F. Mineka, *Dissidence of Dissent: The Monthly Repository, 1806-1838* (Chapel Hill, 1944) pp. 155-6; John Moggridge, Letter to the Editor, *Monthly Repository* (1813) VIII, p. 180; [John Kenrick], Letter to the Editor, *ibid* (1815) X, pp. 286-8.

considered relevant to the progress of religious enquiry, as evidence of God's rational will. This explains why Unitarians attached considerable importance to their ministers receiving a comprehensive and up to date education involving science and other modern subjects, in addition to the more traditional elements of classics and theology. They were equally aware of the need for ministers to be able to satisfy the intellectual demands of their audiences, since Unitarian congregations contained so many of the leading professional and business men of the period.¹⁹

Nineteenth-century Unitarianism was always more than a set of beliefs. It had a distinctive social, political and moral meaning. As a consequence Unitarians drew certain practical conclusions from their religious and philosophical beliefs. Arising from their minority status, they had a deep-seated commitment to the concept of religious (and therefore civil) liberty, and they opposed what they considered to be religious intolerance, superstition and political corruption. Beginning as proponents of religious liberty and political reform they became increasingly vocal critics of other aspects of oligarchy and corruption.

Their liberal convictions were therefore to find expression in a wide range of causes, and Unitarians can be found prominent in every major reform movement of the period – the agitation for civil and religious liberty, Parliamentary Reform, Friends of Peace, abolition of the slave trade.²⁰ The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were one of the most turbulent political periods in modern history. Beginning with the American War of Independence in the 1770s, it saw the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, and was to culminate in Parliamentary and Municipal Reform in the early 1830s. Historians not only see reform as the essential theme of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century British history, but recognise the importance of the Unitarian contribution.²¹

Nonetheless, the national influence of Unitarians was based on more than their commitment to reform. Despite their small size by the beginning of the nineteenth century, individual congregations were still supported by many families of great wealth and influence. They therefore exercised an influence far beyond what their numbers alone could have justified. York, however, differed from other nineteenth-century towns or cities where Unitarian influence was strong. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield or Newcastle, for example, had all been transformed as a result of industrialisation, and the leading industrialists of these towns were among the main supporters of Unitarianism.²² In contrast, following the political and religious changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Wellbeloved had only a very small congregation at St. Saviourgate. As a consequence, the Unitarian influence at York was largely the result of the presence of Manchester College, which brought two ministers as assistant tutors and the sons of many of the leading Unitarian families to the city.²³ They

19. M. Philp, 'Rational Religion and Political Radicalism in the 1790s', *Enlightenment and Dissent* (1985) IV, pp. 36-8.

20. A. Goodwin, *The Friends of Liberty: The English Democratic Movement in the Age of the French Revolution* (London, 1979); J. E. Cookson, *The Friends of Peace: Anti-War Liberalism in England, 1793-1815* (Cambridge, 1982); G. M. Ditchfield, 'Manchester College and Anti-Slavery' in *Truth, Liberty, Religion* ed., Smith, pp. 185-224.

21. J. Seed, 'Theologies of Power: Unitarianism and the Social Relations of Religious Discourse, 1800-50' in *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns*, ed., R. J. Morris (Leicester, 1986) p. 108.

22. J. Seed, 'Gentlemen Dissenters: The Social and Political Meanings of Rational Dissent in the 1770s and 1780s', *Historical Journal*, XXVIII (1985), pp. 302-7; *idem*, 'Theologies of Power', *passim*.

23. The St. Saviourgate congregation had been declining for most of the late eighteenth century, see E. Royle, 'Nonconformity in Nineteenth-Century York', *Borthwick Papers* (1985) LXVIII, pp. 4-5; *idem*, 'Religion in York, 1831-1981' in *York 1831-1981: 150 Years of Scientific Endeavour and Social Change*, ed., C. H. Feinstein (York, 1981) p. 212. See the comments of visitors throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the smallness of the congregation despite the excellence of the preaching:

were to provide support for all the major reform movements of the period. Unfortunately, such causes were largely unpopular, and the congregation at St. Saviourgate certainly suffered as a result.²⁴

Kenrick in his biography of his father-in-law, claimed that Wellbeloved took little interest in political matters after his early radicalism during his days as a student at New College, Hackney, and as a young minister in York.²⁵ This is not entirely borne out by the evidence, for it is clear he continued to take an active interest in the great political issues of the day. From his arrival as Assistant Minister in 1792, Wellbeloved was actively involved in the public life of York. Within two years he had founded the York Book Society (subsequently the Subscription Library), one of the few agencies of liberal opinion to be found in the City in the mid-1790s. During the early years of the College at York, Wellbeloved's energies were absorbed by his work as Theological Tutor, but with the arrival of a third tutor in 1810 he was able to take a more active part in public affairs. In 1813 he spoke against the monopoly of the new East India charter at a public meeting called for the purpose. He was also much exercised during the same year in exposing the abuses relating to the York Lunatic Asylum. The shameful neglect of the inmates had become a public scandal. He was a member of the reform group that set up a committee of enquiry which revealed the most appalling cases of cruelty, dishonesty and neglect. After the reformers gained control Wellbeloved took a regular part in the management of the Lunatic Asylum, serving as chairman of the committee from 1830 until 1849.²⁶

The contribution of Wellbeloved and his colleagues to the cause of reform in York is evident in any account of the period. They spoke at the public meetings held to rally support on the great national issues of the day – Queen Caroline's divorce, the Peterloo Massacre and parliamentary reform. They actively supported the Whig parliamentary candidates at the elections for the city and county. Wellbeloved was one of the founders of the York Whig Club in 1827, of which he became a vice-president. The political views of the tutors, together with the emphasis of their teaching on science, political economy and constitutional history, ensured that the "students were clearly brought into close contact with Whiggish libertarian values".²⁷ In view of the political outlook of the College and its tutors, it is no surprise to find that the Italian political exile, Count Pecchio, was language tutor at York from 1826 until 1828.²⁸

From his first arrival in York, until his death nearly 70 years later, Wellbeloved was actively concerned in all the major social reforms and charitable undertakings of the period. Besides the York Asylum, he was involved in the management of the School for the Blind. He played a prominent part in founding the York Mechanics Institute in 1827, and in 1842 he helped establish the School of Art. Not surprisingly, the Mechanics Institute received considerable support from the other tutors, who like Wellbeloved gave regular courses of lectures in their areas of expertise. Although not among the original

University College London Library, Sharpe Papers 11/1, p. 37 Letter from Thomas Rogers, Harrogate, to his son, Samuel Rogers, Cornhill, London, dated 28 Sept. 1789; DWL, 12.57 (13) Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, Richmond, to the Rev. Thomas Belsham, Grove Place, Hackney, 10 Sept. 1798; BL, Add MS 24,878 fo.66^r Joseph Hunter, New College, York, to Robert Wyld Moulton, Wickersley, nr. Rotherham, 26 December 1805.

24. Davis, *History*, pp. 93-4; A. J. Peacock, 'Charles Wellbeloved', *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1971) pp. 52-59; Ditchfield, 'Manchester College', pp. 204-5.

25. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, p. 206.

26. O. S. Tomlinson, 'Libraries in York' in *The Noble City of York* (York, 1972) p. 975; Manchester College, Oxford, Kenrick Correspondence, John Kenrick, York, to George William Wood, 21 April 1813; Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, pp. 137-40; Peacock, 'Wellbeloved', p. 53 *et passim*; A. Digby, 'From York Lunatic Asylum to Bootham Park Hospital', *Borthwick Papers* (1986) LXIX, pp. 15-21, 24-7.

27. Ditchfield, 'Manchester College', p. 207.

28. *Ibid.* pp. 206-7; 'Obituary' of The Chevalier Pecchio, *Christian Reformer* (1835) ns. II, pp. 590-1.

promoters of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society in 1822, all the tutors of the College were to play a very active part in its proceedings. Wellbeloved was also involved in the development of the fine arts in York. The Art Gallery grew out of the nineteenth-century mania for exhibitions. Wellbeloved was on the committee of management for the first exhibition of paintings held in 1836, and he helped establish the School of Art in 1842.²⁹

IV

Wellbeloved is today largely remembered for his writings on the history and antiquities of York. It is clear that he had a long-standing interest in the past. He had published a guide to York Minster as early as 1804, and even during the first period of the College at York, when he was preoccupied with his responsibilities as Theological Tutor, he did not neglect his antiquarian interests. In 1813 he tried unsuccessfully to form a small antiquarian society.³⁰ Success finally came in 1822 with the founding of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, which provided the opportunity to link archaeology with the more popular branches of the sciences.

Unlike most northern towns, York had largely escaped industrialisation during the first half of the nineteenth century, but modern development was increasingly a threat to the uniquely well-preserved historic remains of the City. The building of a permanent home for the Philosophical Society on the Manor Shore in 1827 was to give the archaeological section a vital impetus. The excavation of the foundations of what is now the Yorkshire Museum uncovered the remains of the former Abbey of St. Mary's, which proved to be unusually well preserved, yielding many important remains. Wellbeloved's role in identifying, describing and publishing the series of finds proved crucial in structuring and sustaining interest. His *Account of...The Abbey of St. Mary's, York* was published by the Society of Antiquities in 1829.³¹

Wellbeloved was the leading scholar studying the City's historic past during the first half of the nineteenth century. From the time of his appointment as Curator of Antiquities for the Philosophical Society in 1823, he was to play a crucial role in recording and preserving the increasing number of finds which were being made as a result of the rapid development of the City. He prepared the Museum's first handbook, and was responsible for successive editions. Published guides to individual museum collections are rare before the second half of the nineteenth century.³² His intimate knowledge of the Society's collections and of the current state of archaeology in the city was undoubtedly important when preparing his history of Roman York. The book that resulted, *Eboracum*, is still described as "a valuable scholarly summary epitomising the breadth of learning, systematic method and practical approach of Victorian antiquarianism at its best". He was also responsible for helping to establish and develop the splendid Yorkshire collection of Roman and Saxon coins now in the Yorkshire Museum. His catalogue provided the basis of the modern definitive edition.³³

The first half of the nineteenth century was a crucial period for development of

29. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, pp. 168, 165, 212; Peacock, 'Wellbeloved', p. 55; *Yorkshire Genealogist, with Which is incorporated Yorkshire Bibliographer* ed., J. H. Turner (Bingley, 1890) pp. 165, 168; *Noble City* ed., Stacpoole, p. 870.

30. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, p. 134.

31. C. Wellbeloved, *Account of the Ancient and Present State of the Abbey of St. Mary's, York* (London, 1829); A. D. Orange, *Philosophers and Provincials: The Yorkshire Philosophical Society from 1822 to 1844* (York, 1973) p. 31; P. Addyman, 'Archaeology in York, 1831-1981' in *York, 1831-1981*. ed., Feinstein, p. 54.

32. C. Wellbeloved, *A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (York, 1852; 3rd edn. 1858); P. C. D. Brears, 'Temples of the Muses: The Yorkshire Philosophical Museums, 1820-50', *Museums Journal* (1984) LXXXIV, p. 16.

33. Addyman 'Archaeology', p. 58.

archaeology and local scholarship. Previously, local studies had consisted of a chaotic collection of antiquarian interests. Although the old tradition persisted with the presentation of curios and objects, which proved such an attraction at local meetings, Wellbeloved was responsible for encouraging a much more systematic approach to archaeology and antiquarian studies in York.³⁴ His concern for the past extended beyond the discovery and recording of archaeological remains.

It was owing very much to his influence and example that the inhabitants of York who had been previously very indifferent to the antiquities of their city, learned to place a pride on their preservation.³⁵

The historic walls which encompassed York were one of the principal objects threatened by the growth of the city. Although their preservation is now known to have been the work of a number of different interest groups, ranging from the Archbishop to individual members of the corporation, Wellbeloved was instrumental in helping to educate the public and, through the York Footpath Association, in encouraging them to preserve the walk around the walls.³⁶ The devastation by fire of the choir of York Minster in 1829 provided another challenge. Wellbeloved, although a Unitarian minister, led the subscription list for the restoration, a remarkable tribute both to his enlightened sympathies and to the high esteem in which he was held. Unfortunately, a long and bitter dispute occurred over proposals to alter the position of the undamaged choir screen. Eventually, the antiquarian lobby led by Wellbeloved successfully resisted the changes.³⁷

His efforts in defence of the City's historic remains together with his scholarship, gave him an unchallenged position as the historian of York. "When discoveries were made, his judgement was appealed to respecting their age and significance." Under Wellbeloved, antiquities became one of the most important and interesting sections of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

A monthly meeting seldom passed in which he had not to present and explain some object which had been added to its antiquarian collections, and he frequently read papers illustrating at greater length the Roman or mediaeval antiquities of York.³⁸

After his death in 1858, his place as Curator was taken by his son-in-law, John Kenrick, who was to make an important contribution in his own right as a historian.³⁹

V

Any assessment of the overall contribution made by Manchester College will have to go beyond a survey of the educational methods, subjects taught or the actions of its tutors, to consider the students themselves. If the ministerial students educated at York and the pulpits they served are examined, then there can be little doubt of the importance of the contribution made by the College. One of the leading theologians of the nineteenth century, James Martineau (brother of Harriet Martineau, the writer),

34. P. Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, 1986) Ch. 1.

35. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, p. 164.

36. G. G. Carr, 'Who Saved York Walls? The Roles of William Etty and the Corporation of York', *York Historian* (1984) V, pp. 25-38; Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, pp. 164-5.

37. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, pp. 169-78; Orange, *Philosophers*, p. 48; Addyman, 'Archaeology', p. 55.

38. Kenrick, *Wellbeloved*, pp. 165, 163. Cf. G. F. Willmot, 'The Yorkshire Museum', *Museums Journal* (1953) LIII, p. 144.

39. *An Essay on Primaeval History* (London, 1846); *Roman Sepulchral Inscriptions: Their Relation to Archaeology, Language and Religion* (London, 1858); *A Selection of Papers Communicated on Subjects of Archaeological and Historical Interest to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society by John Kenrick, Curator of Antiquities* (London & York, 1864); *Historical Notices of the Ninth and Sixth Legions by Whom Roman York Was Occupied* (York, 1867).

was a divinity student at York between 1822 and 1827. He was later to testify to the value of the education he received and its formative influence.⁴⁰ Martineau was undoubtedly the greatest theologian educated by the College, but a number of others, notably J. J. Tayler (1814) and George Vance Smith (1836), made distinguished contributions.⁴¹ Dr. Ruth Watts has concluded that the leadership Unitarians provided in the field of nineteenth-century biblical criticism and rational theology can be traced to Manchester College.⁴²

Students from the College were to supply the leading Unitarian pulpits. John Hugh Worthington (1821), John Gooch Robberds (1805), and William Gaskell (1825), husband of the famous novelist, were all ministers at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. In London, Thomas Madge (1805) was at Essex St, Lindsey's old congregation and at Great Portland St Chapel Edward Tagart (1820), whose congregation included at one time Charles Dickens; Robert Brook Aspland (1822) served Lewin's Mead, Bristol, and then his father's former chapel at Gravel Pit, Hackney; Samuel Bache (1826), J. R. Wreford (1820) and James Yates (1808) were ministers at New Meeting, Birmingham, Priestley's old congregation; and the precocious Henry Turner (1810), whose untimely death in 1822 led Martineau to enter the ministry, was at the time Assistant Minister of High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham. Joseph Hunter, an early divinity student, was the distinguished historian of Yorkshire, and a figure of some importance in the development of historical studies in this country during the first half of the nineteenth century. After nearly 25 years as minister at Bath, he became a Sub-Commissioner, later Assistant Keeper, of the Public Records. The College also trained the individuals who were to serve as the next generation of college tutors. William Turner Jr. and William Hincks received a part of their education at York. Vance Smith, Tayler, and Martineau were all subsequently Principals of the College. John Really Beard (1820), who became a distinguished educationalist, was the founder of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board (subsequently Unitarian College, Manchester, and now part of the Federation of Northern Colleges) and a prominent campaigner for a system of state education. James Yates (1808), after ministries at Glasgow, New Meeting Birmingham, and London, retired to pursue his interests in science and archaeology. He was an active supporter of University College, London, and for a time Secretary to the British Association for the Advancement of Science.⁴³

Commanding the leading pulpits of the period, the influence of these men as ministers was considerable. By applying the benefits of the education they had received at Manchester College, they were responsible, as ministers, and often more directly as teachers, for educating one of the most important section of industrial society with the progressive, enlightened principles of reform and a liberal religious faith. Wealthy Unitarian families above all demanded scholarly ministers to challenge, inform and instruct them. Without Manchester College, these intellectual demands could hardly have been satisfied, for there was no other institution established on the same principles. The standard of education at York ensured that the ministers it trained were amongst

40. R. Waller, 'James Martineau: The Development of his Thought' in *Truth, Liberty, Religion* ed., Smith, pp. 225-64, esp. pp. 231-2; J. Martineau, *Essays, Reviews and Addresses. Volume IV Academical: Religious* (London, 1891) p. 54.

41. The dates in parentheses which follow the names of the students refer to their year of entry to the College.

42. Watts, 'Manchester College', 89, 101.

43. J. M. Connell, 'Dickens' Unitarian Minister, Edward Tagart', *TUHS* (1944) VIII, pp. 68-83; D. Crook, 'The Reverend Joseph Hunter and the Public Records', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society* (1983) XII, pp. 1-15; Watts, 'Manchester College', pp. 99-100; Obituary of James Yates, F.R.S., F.G.S., *The Inquirer*, 13 May 1871, pp. 305-6, 20 May 1871, p. 314; J. Morrell & A. Thackray, *Gentlemen of Science: Early Years of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Oxford, 1981) Wellbeloved, Kenrick and Hincks together with other Unitarians were also active in the early British Association; Levine, *Amateur and Professional*, p. 16.

the best educated men of their generation. Encouraged by their Unitarian beliefs to be active public figures in every liberal cause, it is no wonder that, like their tutors, they were such a force in the political and intellectual life of their localities.

Although just over half the students educated at York attended the divinity course, a significant proportion never entered the ministry, or did so for only a short time before following a secular career instead. The best nonconformist academies, like the universities, offered an education which formed the basis for most professional careers. The practical value of such an education to these students was considerable, not least because the majority of divinity students were educated on the College foundation and therefore would never have been able to pay for such an education themselves. A number were particularly successful at law, one of the most demanding, as well as rewarding, professions. Thomas Baker (1827) served a year as minister at Sidmouth before settling at Manchester in 1835, where he practised as a solicitor. He was subsequently Mayor of Manchester from 1880 to 1882, receiving his knighthood in 1883. A number of others also entered the legal profession. Nathaniel Phillips (1823) became a barrister. Francis Darbishire (1823), prevented from entering the ministry by ill-health, became a solicitor, though dying in 1833. But the most successful was undoubtedly John Smale (1821), who had a most distinguished career in the colonial legal service.⁴⁴ Others followed more traditional alternatives to the ministry, such as teaching or practising medicine. William Gurden Peene (1812) conformed and went into the Church, and after studying at Cambridge he obtained his MD in 1833 becoming a physician. George Cheetham (1816-21), following five years as minister at Macclesfield, became a surgeon and emigrated to the United States. Samuel Nicholson (1826-28) did not complete the course and on leaving York entered the Civil Service. He later went to Edinburgh to study medicine, graduating MD in 1845. A number of others made direct use of the education they had received at York by teaching. John Haslam (1813-18) emigrated to the United States and became Professor of the Greek and Latin languages at Mount Airy College in Pennsylvania. Divinity students, not surprisingly considering the costs of becoming a barrister or physician, appear to have been more willing than their wealthier lay contemporaries to take advantage of the opportunities available in the newer professions. William Cowling (1835) failed to complete his course and became an accountant and sharebroker. John Ebenezer Williams (1832) was more interested in engineering than preaching, and in 1844, after six years as minister at Belper, he resigned to become assistant to Swanwick in the construction of the Midland Railway. George Lee (1821), after ministries at Boston and Lancaster, followed his father into the world of journalism and was for many years editor of the *Kendal Mercury*.⁴⁵

Both the cost and the type of education the College provided ensured that the lay students at York came only from the wealthiest backgrounds. They included the sons of prominent Unitarian families who were among the great industrial leaders of the period. Of the parents who patronised the College, the Strutt, Marsland, Houldsworth, and McConnel families alone represented four of the largest cotton-spinning firms of the early nineteenth century. Other great industrialists who sent their sons to York, included Samuel Ashton of Stockport, and the radical factory owner and reformer John Fielden of Todmorden. Leading manufacturers and merchants from Manchester, Liverpool and

44. He was Attorney-General (1861-66), later Chief Justice (1866-81), of Hong Kong, receiving a knighthood in 1874. F. Boase, *Modern English Biography* (London, 1901) III, p. 607.

45. T. Baker, *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel* (London & Manchester, 1884) pp. 129-30; Boase, *Modern English Biography*, II, p. 1436; *Memorials of the Family of Nicholson of Blackshaw, Dumfriesshire, Liverpool and Manchester collected by Francis Nicholson* (ed.) E. Axon (1928) p. 143; *Monthly Repository* (1820) XV, p. 564; C. G. Bolam, *Three Hundred Years, 1662-1962* (Nottingham, 1962) p. 11; F. Nicholson & E. Axon, *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal: A History of the Unitarian Chapel* (Kendal, 1915) pp. 393-4.

Leeds also patronised the College. Other parents were major figures in banking, brewing and iron founding.⁴⁶

Although former students continued to be prominent in the industrial leadership of period, a slightly greater number did in fact follow a profession. The liberal education offered by the College was of course ideally suited to such a career.⁴⁷ A number clearly came from prominent legal families. Thomas Lee, the Birmingham attorney, sent three sons, as did Henry Enfield, the Town Clerk of Nottingham, and the barrister John Pemberton Heywood of Wakefield. Heywood's second son and namesake entered the family bank, but his other two sons became barristers. Nonetheless, many of those educated at York who entered the law came from families engaged in manufacturing or trade. William Smith, the radical Unitarian MP, had made his fortune in the wholesale grocery trade, but his son, Samuel, educated at York entered the Bar. John Marshall was son of a member of Lloyds. James Carter of Portsmouth, whose family had acquired its wealth from brewing and distilling, became Chief Justice of New Brunswick (1851-65) and was knighted in 1859. The father of John Woodhouse Crompton (1821) had been a partner with John and William Parkes of Warwick in one of the earliest and most important worsted-spinning mills, but the son entered the law.⁴⁸ A number of lay students were to gain a considerable reputation at the bar, of which undoubtedly the most distinguished was James Carter, Wellbeloved's son-in-law.⁴⁹

One of the most interesting developments during the nineteenth century was the growth in demand for more specialised skills and expertise, which gave rise to new professions and the institutionalisation of business and financial services – the emergence of accountancy, architecture and, in particular, the different branches of engineering. Large-scale industrialisation and urbanisation also led to government reforms and the creation of new career opportunities in local and national administration. Most of the developments took place in the decades after the 1830s and were not therefore immediately reflected in the career choices made by York students. In 1827, before government reform, Henry Enfield used his political connections to obtain through Lord Holland a place for his son on the Corporation of the Moneyers of the Mint. When the Mint was reorganised in 1837 Edward Enfield retired on a pension and thereafter devoted himself to educational and philanthropic work. For a number of years he served as treasurer of University College Hospital, London.⁵⁰ The celebrated mining engineer, John Taylor, sent his two sons, John and Richard, to the College in 1824. They also became prominent mining engineers.⁵¹

Many of the students who were to follow lay occupations enjoyed highly successful careers in business and public life. Besides two colonial chief justices, York alumni included three MPs, of whom Edward Strutt after a notable political career was created Baron Belper in 1856. The father of another was offered a baronetcy (which was

46. See my 'Sons and Subscribers', pp. 58-65.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Joseph Hunter, 'Familiae Minorum Gentium ed., J. W. Clay, *Harleian Society* (1894) XXXVII, p. 22; PRO, RG4/2808 Nonparochial Registers Presbyterian High Street Congregation, Warwick, Births & Baptisms Register, 1790-1837; S. D. Chapman, 'The Pioneers of Worsted Spinning by Power', *Business History* (1965) VII, pp. 110-111.

49. Carter married Wellbeloved's youngest daughter, Emma; see *Roll of Students Entered at Manchester Academy 1786-1803; Manchester College, York 1803-1840...* (Manchester, 1868) sv. 1820; Boase, *Modern English Biography*, I, p. 562; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* (1836) III, p. 667.

50. Manchester College, Oxford, Kenrick Correspondence, John Kenrick, York to George William Wood, 23 Dec. 1827; 'Report from the Select Committee on the Royal Mint with Minutes of Evidence and Appendix and Index, 1837', *Parliamentary Papers*, 1837 (12) XVI, pp. 120-1; *The Inquirer*, 24 Apr. 1880, p. 278, 1 May 1880, p. 293, 15 May 1880, p. 321.

51. R. Burt, *John Taylor: Mining Entrepreneur and Engineer, 1779-1863* (Hartlington, 1977).

refused), while a further three students obtained knighthoods. In addition others were to gain prominence locally as Justices of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenants and Sheriffs. George Thomas Nicholson, the senior student in 1803, was High Sheriff for Surrey in 1832, and subsequently Chairman of the Quarter Sessions and Vice-Lieutenant for the County.⁵²

Nor was the political activity and influence of the York students restricted to the period after they had left the College. As the sons of some of the most prominent reformers of the day it is no surprise to find the students were greatly interested in the leading political questions of the period, as their surviving letters home attest.⁵³ Moreover, the students were not simply bystanders. A number took an active part in the county election at York in 1807. As a result of their efforts their leader Thomas Madge was warmly thanked by Lord Milton, the successful Whig candidate. It is clear that the tutors were to follow the future political careers of their former proteges with interest. Wellbeloved, having been sent a copy of the *Derby Mercury*, wrote to congratulate Douglas Strutt on taking part successfully in his first public meeting.⁵⁴

The majority of lay students came from families who traditionally supported Unitarianism and a wide range of other liberal causes. Nonetheless, the College was to have a profound influence upon those it educated. The political views of the tutors and the emphasis of the curriculum on such modern subjects as science, political economy and constitutional history, brought the individuals taught there into close contact with some of the most advanced ideas of the period, as well as helping to reinforce their Unitarianism by providing a detailed understanding of the different theological arguments.

VI

What were the consequences of Manchester College's residence at York? There is no doubt of the College's vital role in educating the leading Unitarian ministers and laymen, at a time when Unitarians were in the vanguard of reform and providing the intellectual leadership in social and educational progress. Dr. Seed has stressed the crucial role Unitarians played in shaping the new liberal culture of the middle classes.⁵⁵ All this would have been lost if the move to York had been unsuccessful, for under the difficult political conditions which then prevailed it is unlikely that anyone would have had the optimism to attempt to found another college. In turn York gained immeasurably from the presence of three leading Unitarian scholars and their involvement in the public life of the city during one of the most important periods of reform and at a time when there were few other agencies of liberal opinion in York.

Acknowledgement

This article was originally prepared as a public lecture given at the invitation of the Congregation of St. Saviourgate Unitarian Chapel, York. I am grateful to the Congregation and to their Minister, the Rev. Sydney Knight, for the invitation and for the generous hospitality I received. I should also like to thank Professor Aubrey Newman of the University of Leicester for his comments on this article. I also wish to acknowledge the kind permission of the Chairman, Principal and Council of Manchester College, Oxford, together with that of my fellow trustees of Dr. Williams's Library, London, to use and quote from manuscripts in their keeping.

52. He married the daughter of the Unitarian William Smith, radical MP for Norwich. Nicholson's youngest daughter married John Bonham-Carter, MP for Winchester, Sir James Carter's first cousin once removed, illustrating the close connections which existed within rational dissent. John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th edn. 1862-63) II, p. 1083; *ibid.* (1882) I, p. 160.
53. Manchester College, Oxford, Letter from William Holt, a lay student at York, to his father, dated 5th Nov. 1822; Letters of William Rayner Wood, York, to his parents, 1829-31.
54. H. McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses* (Manchester, 1950) p. 207; Birmingham Central Library, Archives Division, 'Galton Family Papers', Letters to Joseph Douglas Strutt, C. Wellbeloved, York, to J. D. Strutt, Derby, 10 Dec. 1817.
55. J. Seed, 'Unitarianism, Political economy and the antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830-50', *Social History* (1982) VII, pp. 1-25; *idem*, 'Theologies of Power', pp. 109-111.

MARTON PRIORY FISHPONDS: A POSTSCRIPT

By Vivien G. Swan

A recent paper in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* described the results of an analytical field survey of the earthworks in the vicinity of the priory of Marton-in-the-Forest, North Yorkshire¹. The work indicated that the River Foss had undergone a major diversion to an artificially cut channel, so that the valley-bottom through which its former course flowed could be utilised for fish-farming. Fishponds of two phases were distinguished. The first phase had involved the flooding of the whole valley in order to produce a single massive pond. Later this had been drained and five smaller ponds and a breeding-tank inserted into it. No evidence emerged for the date of these monastic works, but the mention of five 'stanks' in the 1535-6 Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII² suggested that the smaller ponds may still have been operational at the time of the dissolution.

Since that paper was published, a manuscript of 1300 which refers explicitly to Marton Priory's water management scheme³, has been located in the Public Record Office. The original purpose of this document was to record as unambiguously as possible the precise line of the boundary of the Forest of Galtres, a royal tract of land within which strict laws were enforced to conserve the King's game and timber. The relevant text reads: *et sic deinde descendendo per hayam eiusdem parci usque ad aquam de Fosse ubi descendit in eodem parco et sic deinde per medium illius parci sicut illa aqua de Fosse descendit usque ad stagnum de Marton et sic per medium illius stagni sicut vetus cursus aque de Fosse descendit usque ad pontem de Bulfordbrigge et sic deinde semper descendo per antiquum cursum eiusdem aque de Fosse ex parte occidentali eiusdem aque ad villam de Strensale* (and so from there going down by the hedge of the same [Crayke] Park as far as the water of the Fosse, and so from there through the middle of that Park just as that water of the Fosse goes down as far as the pond of Marton, and so by the middle of that pond just as the old watercourse of the Fosse goes down as far as the bridge of Bulefordbrigge, so from there always going down by the same ancient watercourse of the Fosse on the western side of that same water as far as the township of Strensale).

A number of deductions may be made from this passage. The diversion of the River Foss and the creation of a large fishpond at Marton had already taken place by 1300. Nevertheless, at that date it was clearly still common knowledge that the Fosse had once followed a course along the middle of the valley then occupied by the pond. This might suggest that the alterations were not excessively old when the Perambulation was drafted, probably not more than a century at most. The careful choice of words in the text may substantiate this. The use of the adjective *vetus* for the original line of the river in the vicinity of Marton may be in deliberate contrast to the *antiquum* by which its course further downstream is described in the passage which immediately follows, the first adjective probably meaning old/former in the sense of erstwhile, while the latter old/

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1. Mackay, D. A., and Swan, V. G. Earthworks at Marton and Moxby Priors. *Yorkshire Archaeol. J.*, 61 (1989), 71-84. The work was carried out by staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.
 2. P.R.O., S.C. 6/4493., Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII, Marton, Account of Ralph Beckwith, Michaelmas, 1535-6.
 3. P.R.O., C. 47/12/10., Perambulation of Galtres Forest, 12 June 1300. The document, not listed in *The Place Names of North Riding, Yorks.* (Smith, A. H., 1928), was discovered by chance by Dr Bridgett E. A. Jones of RCHME during work in connection with other medieval sites in Ryedale.

ancient implied an antiquity hallowed by time and presumably outside living memory⁴. A thirteenth-century date for the completion of the basic water-management scheme seems, therefore, most likely. Additionally, if Marton priory had a single large fish pond in 1300, the drastic change in fish-farming methods, which caused it to be replaced by five much smaller ponds, must have taken place sometime between 1300 and 1535.

The Council of the Society wishes to record its thanks to the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England for a generous grant towards the publication of the article on East Lilling deserted medieval village in Vol. 62.

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4. The better-known and very similar Galtres Perambulation of 1316 omits these adjectives, but mentions several additional contemporary landmarks between Marton pond and Strensall (P.R.O., C.47/11/6, No. 27).

DENISON HALL, LEEDS: A POSTSCRIPT TO RICHARD HEWLINGS

By Angus Taylor

In his article on Denison Hall in the 1989 volume of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Richard Hewlings concluded that William Lindley of Doncaster was probably the architect of Woodhouse Park, alias Denison Hall, for Robert Denison. Recently new evidence has come to light, first, a design, and second the architect's letters,¹ which first supported and then confirmed the attribution.

In a series of designs for a new country house near Doncaster dated 1794 is one stranger dated 1786. It is in every way quite unlike the others. It is not identified: the others are; it is of three storeys: they of two; it has wide-spread wings to terminal pavilions: they are for a compact, wing-less house; it uses coupled pilasters to articulate the centre: they do not; it has no central emphasis on the door (it is elsewhere): the others have an emphatic front entrance. On the other hand, shorn of links and pavilions, it closely resembles Denison Hall. It is of the right date and would seem to be an alternative version of the house as built.

In his letters to his Doncaster client Lindley makes constant references to his designs for others, promising to show them or regretting not having done so. This would account for the presence of the 1786 design in the Doncaster series. Lindley "forgot to show" his design for Newhill Hall, Wath-on-Deane "just finished" in June 1785 and with the same wing design.

A letter of 18 March 1786 shows Lindley extremely busy with "a variety of plans that are to be executed this next summer", which would include Denison Hall. In April 1787 he is "exceedingly busy with several jobs I have in hand that are in haste, particularly Mr. Denison's new house and offices and stables etc. all which I doubt not of getting completely finished within the space of twelve months from the time they were begun which will be the greatest work for the time that ever was performed at least in this county." Compare this with the report in the *Leeds Mercury* that it had taken only 101 days to build the "13;800 feet of stonework executed in a masterly manner" of the masonry carcass – leaving Lindley 264 days to fit up the interior.

1. Doncaster Archives. DDDC/H/1/1/2 and 3.

At this time Lindley was pressing on several clients the idea of vestibules with curved inner walls with niches on either side of a doorway and in September 1787 he mentions that he has "finished the end of Mr. Denison's vestibule [from the centre of the south front] in this manner, Mrs Arthington's Park Place, Leeds, and some others". In 1777 Lindley had designed 5,6 and 7 Park Place², a unified composition of a large three-storey central pedimented house flanked by two smaller two-storey houses for John Arthington, banker. After his death in November 1778 his widow carried on with the new houses and paid Lindley £42 on completion in 1780. Arthington's brother, Robert was William Denison's steward, which suggests that the commission for Park Place led directly to Lindley's employment when Denison Hall was built. Had Lindley also refenestrated Robert Denison senior's (died 1785) Town End house and built the pedimented upper parts of the wings? Robert Rhodes, who, like Lindley, had worked with John Carr, was the mason at Park Place and Denison Hall and probably at Denison's Ossington Hall later.

In spite of Robert Denison's failure through waning interest to complete the interior (with the exception of the staircase hall) to the standard of the exterior, Denison Hall is no doubt William Lindley's surviving masterpiece.

Acknowledgements to Professor Maurice Beresford.

2. Leeds Archives Acc 3249. There is a rough plan of a vestibule of the kind Lindley describes.

AERIAL RECONNAISSANCE: RECENT RESULTS. LEAD MINING IN ARKENGARTHDALE

By R. F. White

The Yorkshire Dales, popularly perceived as an essentially rural area, contain the complex remains of a variety of industries. Many of these are well suited to aerial photographic recording. Consequently, the aerial reconnaissance programme carried out by the Yorkshire Dales National Park with financial assistance from the RCHM(E) gives comparatively recent industrial monuments and landscapes equal priority with those of prehistoric or medieval date. The results are fed into the Yorkshire Dales Project and the Sites and Monuments Record and are used to help protect the existing monuments and to identify further areas for research. The main industries shown in this photograph of part of Arkengarthdale are mineral and stone extraction and processing.

The remains of the footings of the Octagon Lead Smelting Mill, built in 1803/4, partially collapsed in 1942 and dismantled after 1944 as a convenient source of building and roofing stone and of timber, lie just to right of centre, highlighted by lime mortar in the rubble spreads. The earth and stone banks of the long horizontal flue or chimney of the mill lead towards the top left hand corner of the photograph. The flue was originally partly dug into the ground but has now mainly collapsed although it is still complete where it is crossed by the Reeth-Tan Hill-Brough road. This road was turnpiked in 1770; the opportunities it offered for the easy transport of fuel, mainly peat and coal, and of lead ore and processed lead would have been a significant factor in the choice of site for the mill. The trackway leading down to the bottom of the mill from the road is clearly shown, diagonally crossing the two stone walled fields to the west of the mill. Another track, leading from the corner of one of these fields and crossing over another arched section of the flue provided access to chutes at the rear of the, now truncated, Peat Store, the single pitch, stone roofed building in the centre of the photograph. Between this Peat Store and the Octagon Mill is the rectangular outline of a former smithy complex. The leat leading to the Octagon Mill runs approximately parallel with and below the road. A possible overflow channel is cut into the hillside below the Peat Store.

Near the top left corner of the photograph the flue from the Octagon Mill is joined by that from another lead smelting mill, known variously as the New Mill, Langthwaite Mill or the CB Mill, which dates from 1821/4. The flue from this later mill blocks that of the Octagon Mill at the junction of the two flues which, together with the leat which appears to run along the Octagon flue for a short distance, suggests that the Octagon Mill was disused when the CB Mill was constructed. Nineteenth century maps provide support for this suggestion. The Octagon Mill is referred to as 'Old Mill' in 1833 (Clarkson 1833) and the flue is marked as 'Site of Old Tunnel' in 1857 (Ordnance Survey 1857).

The last recorded smelting at the CB Mill was in 1901. Most of this Mill and its ancillary buildings have also been demolished since the Second World War and the building materials recycled. The outline of part of the L-shaped Peat Store together with a short length of gable wall can still be seen adjacent to the roadside near the entrance to the right of the mill.

The distinctive triangular group of buildings near the centre of the photograph, now mainly residential accommodation, was a series of cottages, saw mill, stores and stables

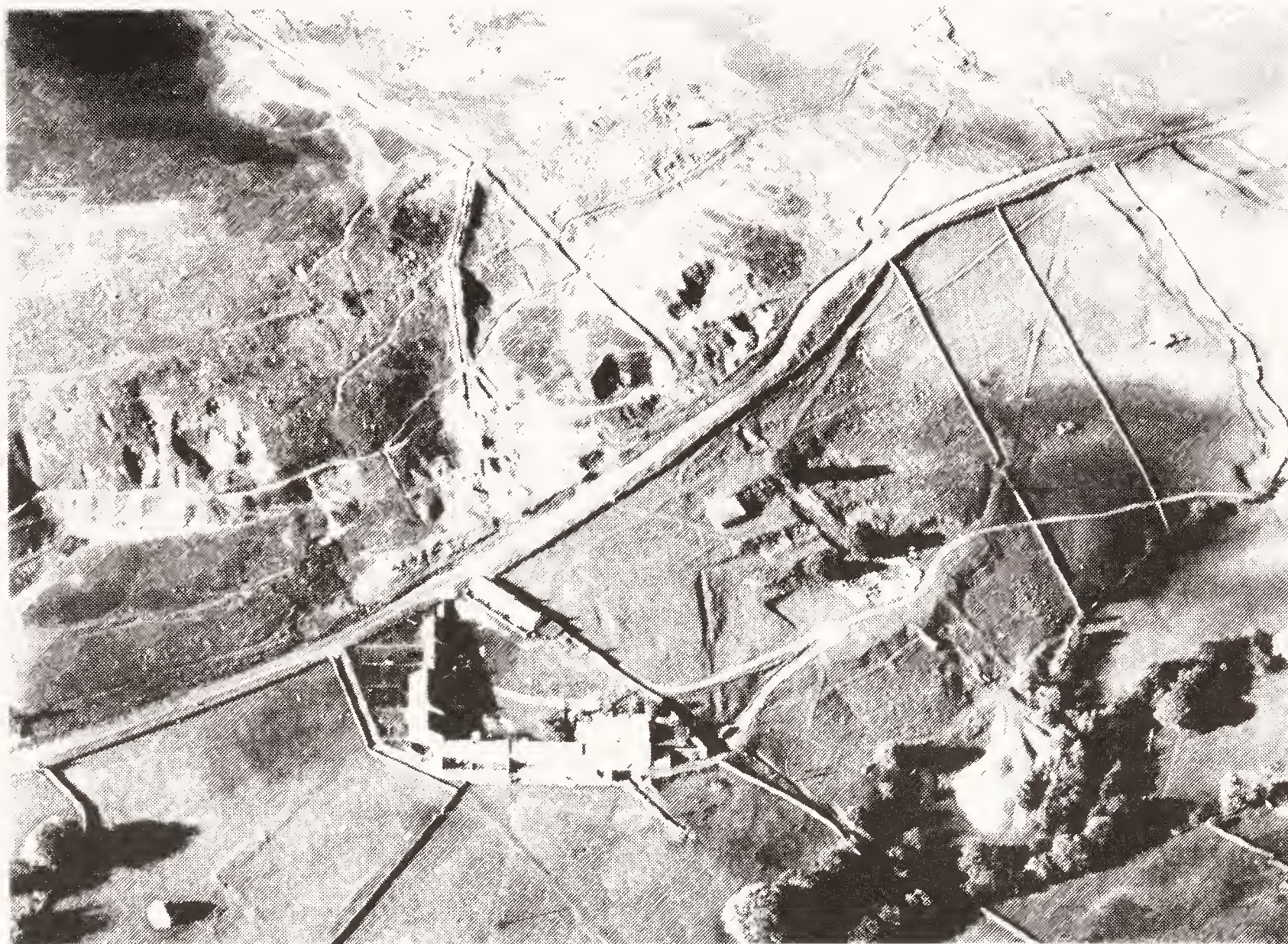


Plate 1. Part of Arkengarthdale, North Yorkshire.

Photograph details. ANY 274/3, taken at 10.30am on 8.10.1986 using Kodak Plus X, rated at 200 ASA, in a Bronica S2A with a 75mm lens, by R F White.

for the lead industry. Identification of the water supply systems to the saw mill and the CB Mill is complicated by the presence of a corn mill some 250 metres to the left of the photograph and by the fact that many leats would have been carried above ground on wooden launders supported by easily removed wooden or stone pillars. Four, nearly parallel, leats, including two only 2-3 metres apart, can be seen above the road to the left of the CB Mill.

One of these leats has been cut by spoil from a mine for stone roofing slates. Other stone mines can be seen on either side of the Octagon Mill flue. The curved track by the cattle grid to the west of these stone mines is the bed of an inclined trackway used in the first half of this century to bring chert blocks from mines further up the hillside to a roadside loading bay.

The large fan-shaped spoil heap below the Octagon Mill, causing a slight kink in the Arkle Beck, comes from a lead mine known as the Old Smelt Mill level. This spoil overlies a slag heap from the Octagon Mill. Much of the slag appears to have been slid down an incline, traces of which can be seen parallel to a short length of wall between the spoil heap and the Mill.

The hexagonal building standing near the centre of the field in the bottom left hand corner was constructed as a Powder House for the lead industry and is believed to be contemporary with the Octagon Mill. A later, more isolated, Powder Store can be seen to the right of the junction of the two flues.

C B Yard and the old Powder House are listed buildings but the rest of the remains of the industry shown in this photograph, like most industrial remains in the Yorkshire

Dales National Park have no statutory protection as yet. The remains of three lead smelting mills, Grinton, Old Gang and Surrender, which are scheduled ancient monuments are being consolidated by the National Park Authority. It is intended to extend the consolidation and interpretation. While photographs such as this encapsulate the complexity of the industrial landscape of the Yorkshire Dales, aerial photography can only reveal part of the story; ground survey and documentary and historical research is necessary for the landscape to be fully understood.

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I am grateful to Lawrence Barker and to Parkin Waller of CB Yard for discussing this landscape with me.

ROBERT BLACKBURN AND HIS ENTERPRISES – THE GROWTH OF THE AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY IN YORKSHIRE

By A. D. George

Bob Blackburn was born in Leeds in 1885, one of the four sons of G.W. Blackburn, manager of Green's Ironworks. A graduate in engineering of Leeds University, he spent some time in France on the design of structural steelwork. In 1908 Wilbur Wright had given demonstrations in France and there was an active Aero Club in Paris where the latest theories were discussed and lectures on aeronautics were given. Blackburn returned to Leeds in 1909 with designs for a monoplane. His father, probably to keep him quiet, provided a joiner and an apprentice from the works: the team of three, together with a Mr. Wilkinson from the Leeds Wire Company, set to work in the basement of a garment factory in Benson Street. The first machine was a failure, but a number of new 'Mercury' monoplanes were started in converted railway stables off Balm Road, Hunslet. They were stored in a cliff-top hangar at Filey and successful flights were made from the beach in the summer of 1911 (Redman 1981). The monoplane also competed against AVRO in a one-off event, the Lancashire and Yorkshire Air Race. B.C. Hucks and Rowland Ding were early test pilots for the firm. Hucks was paid £3 a week with a commission on sales, and demonstrated the Mercury on a West Country tour of 1,000 miles. Ding managed to acquire his own personal monoplane, known as the White Falcon, built at Olympia. M.G.K. Byrne in a 1971 article details the sale of the first plane to a Dewsbury man for £170, but in 1912 two went for £90. Over £6,000 was lost in the first three years of the venture.

In May 1914 a new company was formed, capitalised at £20,000 in £1 shares, because of an order from the government for twelve BE2c biplanes. The firm took over the former roller skating rink at Olympia on Roundhay Road, and this building, with its large open area and maple floor, was highly suitable for aircraft construction. A Total of 111 BE2cs were produced and test flown from the soldiers' field at Oakwood half a mile up the road, where crowds used to gather at weekends to see the displays. Two Blackburn monoplanes had been taken by Ding and Pickles, who were involved in the Windermere

flying school venture, for conversion to floatplanes. This possibly resulted in an experimental floatplane, which was made at the rink, and later 180 Sopwith seaplanes were built at Olympia, being launched on the Humber estuary at Brough. (The location is said to have been chosen by the engineers because of the local beer, a point commemorated by the village pub, today known as the Blackburn Buccaneer after a later product.)

Another venture during World War I which remained a prototype was the Blackburn biplane torpedo bomber. A later type, the Kangaroo, powered by two 250 h.p. Rolls Royce Falcon engines, was converted for a projected Brough to Amsterdam service, intended to carry seven passengers. Some cargo hops were certainly made and a trial service between Scarborough, Hull and London operated during a rail strike. In the period 1930-31 Blackburns operated an air ferry service from Hull to Grimsby, using a Blackburn Seagrave monoplane, which carried seven passengers.

Between 1928 and 1932 much of the work of the Blackburn Aeroplane Company was moved to the hangars at Brough. There they built a series of planes for the Royal Naval Air Service – Baffins, Sharks etc, and some flying boats, such as the Perth. The site had also been used by Phoenix Dynamo of Bradford to launch their Felixstowe and Cork flying boats. Robert Blackburn moved into a house in the village about 60 years ago and his widow, who lived to the age of 95, died only recently.

Brough is situated beside a small muddy creek on the Humber, where there is a wooden jetty, a coastguard station, and a few yachts moored alongside. On the car park there is an interpretative board which gives information about the Roman fort, the cross-estuary swimming contests (1906-13), the famous walks or wades across the channel, and the history of various schemes for suspension bridges. Nothing, however, is said about the slipway or the seaplanes.

A walk from this point along the top of the sea dyke to the east gives a good view of the Humber, of the aircraft factory; and a short distance along it the site of the old slipway is reached on the mudbank. There is a walkway to a concrete lookout post and a ramp over the bank leads back into the works. A short distance behind is a three-bay hangar with tall sliding doors where the flying boats were housed. Many of the other fifteen or so workshops which now comprise the factory are tall brick buildings with corrugated metal roofs, suggestive of World War II vintage.

The factory is bounded on the other side by Saltgrounds Road, at the end of which the aerodrome is situated. There are few planes in evidence today as the works produces only components or parts of fuselages. The last Blackburn type, the Buccaneer, built before the company's absorption in 1965 into Hawker-Siddeley and later into British Aerospace, is remembered as an outstanding product. It is still in service with the Royal Air Force and is illustrated on the painted sign of a local inn.

The Olympia works – now, I believe, demolished – was reactivated under the management of the Railway Foundry, Leeds (Hudswell Clarke) by an agreement dated 2 November 1938. Subcontract work was started first and the firm's own engine sheds were converted and extended to form what became known as the Grosvenor Works, where 300 men were employed, reaching a peak of 1,100 men and women workers, when both Jack Lane and Roundhay Road were in operation.

Alf Kellington, who worked for Blackburns between 1929 and 1978, spent seven years at the Leeds factory dealing with cash, purchase accounts and personnel records. As labour officer at Leeds, he supervised also the dispersal factories such as Sherburn-in-Elmet, where Blackburns had a contract for the Fairey Swordfish. (Ted Connell of Leeds Polytechnic is hoping to interview him as part of Yorkshire TV's video history project.) Wilf Horsley, one of the firm's accountants is still living in Leeds. He was taken out of 'non-essential' industry and directed to Blackburns. He is able to confirm that the Leeds

site became a component factory for the Barracuda, Botha (a glider), Firebrand, Sea Otter and Swordfish. There was a machine shop at Guiseley and the pipe bending division was at Churwell.

The factory does not seem to have finally lost its aviation connection until the takeover of 1965, although much of it had been a furniture factory and discount store since 1947. Many of the ancillary buildings, such as foundries, stores and drawing offices, were of shadow factory period or earlier. The sale catalogue of 1947 and pictures from that era have survived, including interior shots of aircraft construction, wing sections in their jigs, the aileron workshop etc. The plane for which the production facilities at Olympia may have been restarted was the Skua – the first monoplane to be supplied to the Fleet Air Arm. A dive bomber, it entered service in 1938, having a wing span of 40ft 2ins.

Mrs I. McClements has sent a photograph of a Blackburn Dart (GA-AAY), one of four used by the Naval Flying School at Brough from 1928 to 1933. Her father, Mr Dobson bought it when surplus and kept it in the garden at Withinmoor near Leeds. Interest in the company seems to be growing. The Thoresby Society has had a request from the U.S.A. for information on Robert Blackburn, and Jack Sile, a research student at Essex University, is also making a study. He has visited Leeds Archives and the factory at Brough, where there is still some material, such as ledgers and accounts, which was used by M.G.K. Byrne in a 1971 article.

There were two other aircraft manufacturers in Yorkshire as well as Blackburns. The Airship Guarantee Company at Howden, a subsidiary of Vickers, built both the R38, which crashed into the Humber in August 1921, and the larger R100, designed by Sir Barnes Wallis. This was completed in November 1929 and successfully flew to Canada and back, but was broken up after the disastrous crash of the rival R101 near Beauvais on its way to India in October 1930, killing 44 of the 52 passengers and crew, including Lord Thomson, the Secretary of State for Air. In 1931 N.S. Norway, who had worked on the R100 as chief calculator, founded Airspeed Ltd with works in a former tram depot in Piccadilly, York, now Reynard's garage. It at first made gliders, then the three-engined Airspeed Ferry, but moved to Portsmouth in March 1933 (N. Shute, *Slide Rule* (London 1954), pp. 153-66).

BOOK REVIEWS

P. Abramson, *The Story of Roman Castleford*, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, Wakefield, 1990. 34pp. 47 figs. £1.50 + 40p. p. & p.

This colourful booklet is full of lively illustrations, many of them cartoons and apparently intended for children, but the text is meant for adult comprehension. The main finds and buildings known from the Roman forts, occupied until the end of the first century, the bathhouse and *vicus* are described, though there is only an aerial photograph with features superimposed to relate all together. It is intended for popular consumption and will make an attractive souvenir of a visit to the scanty remains. The childish reconstructions are ill tuned with the clear photographs of the finds.

K.J. Allison (ed.) *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a History of the County of York, East Riding: Vol. VI: the Borough and Liberties of Beverley*, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Historical Research, Oxford, 1990; pp.357 + maps, plans and figures. £60.

In 1989 the two hundredth volume of the Victoria County History was published; whether or not 'Beverley' was the two hundredth volume seems impossible to establish, as there are different methods of counting the volumes: it would be good, however, to claim for this invaluable book on a Yorkshire town the extra significance of a double century. The East Riding is fortunate in having so many of its parishes covered by the VCH in the wapentake volumes, and in addition separate volumes for York, Hull and now Beverley. Dr Keith Allison has been on the editorial staff of the East Riding VCH since the 1950s, and is to be congratulated on the completion of the sixth volume, which maintains the high standards of its predecessors.

It is 160 years since there was a major history of Beverley: in 1829 both George Oliver and George Poulson brought out substantial volumes, in Poulson's case consisting of some 900 pages. Both Oliver and Poulson followed a similar pattern, beginning chronologically with the Britons and Romans, and subsequently moving to the history of the minster and other religious and secular institutions: Oliver added an account of adjacent villages, which Poulson abandoned only because his book had become too long. Both these volumes have been used ever since as quarries by historians, and while there have been monographs on many aspects of the town, there has been no full-length study.

The VCH has now provided a splendid new history of Beverley. Research methods and the sources available have moved far beyond Oliver and Poulson: yet they would recognise their successor, for the VCH volume follows a similar arrangement: general chronological chapters are followed by more specific sections (represented by double columns of text) on, among other topics, religious and secular institutions, and finally the outlying townships.

The early history of Beverley is bound up with the traditions of St John, bishop of Hexham and later Bishop of York, who retired to a monastery called by Bede 'Inderauuda', or in Latin 'in silva Derorum', where he died and was buried in 721. That early monastery and its church have not yet been found; neither has the first York Minster, nor the first church at Lincoln. There are lacunae in the early history of Beverley: was Inderauuda the same place as Beverley? Did John's monastery become the later settlement? If the Vikings destroyed the buildings, did later settlers return to the same place?

These early problems are of interest because the link with St John, well established by the 11th century, was crucial to the development of the medieval town. The miracle-working saint brought pilgrims, whose needs encouraged trade; trade grew and the town flourished, to be taxed, in 1377, as the 11th most populous town in England, twice as large as Hull and half the size of York. Wool from Yorkshire sheep was traded and processed in Beverley, although this trade dwindled towards 1500 and was 'much decayed' by the time Leland visited the town in the 1530s.

The chapter by Dr Rosemary Horrox on Beverley in the middle ages is the longest of the general sections; she marshalls a wide range of sources, some previously unknown, and builds from them

a vivid picture of the medieval town. She is particularly strong on the high middle ages, using the wealth of unpublished material in the borough archives. The account of the Anglo-Saxon history of the settlement is cautious, and seems thin by comparison with the excellent recent discussion by Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster before the early thirteenth century', in the 1983 conference transactions of the British Archeological Association (Christopher Wilson ed., *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1989)). The uncertainty about the Anglo-Saxon church is also shown in the section of the VCH volume on Beverley Minster, where the opening sentence (p.231) is misleading; it is improbable that John's church was collegiate at its foundation, and the evidence suggest that it was monastic, with the secular canons a later innovation. An important article by David O'Connor in the volume of the BAS transactions cited above might also have been used for this section; it analyses the lost heraldic glass once in the west window of the minster, and so establishes the date of the building of the west front as before 1399, rather than the 15th-century date previously assigned.

In the 16th century Beverley suffered repeated shocks; the Pilgrimage of Grace, which began at Beverley, the various stages of the dissolution of religious institutions between 1536 and 1548, the loss of the archbishop's lands to the crown, coupled with the difficulties of the woollen industry, which brought sudden and severe economic difficulties, only partially restored by action taken by Queen Elizabeth I. The 16th-century chapter is by comparison with the medieval section more hesitantly written, and does not fully convey the extraordinary changes that occurred.

In the late 17th century, when the Quarter Sessions began to meet regularly in the town, the administrative and social role of Beverley as the centre of the East Riding began to replace the former religious and clothmaking functions. Gordon Forster draws on his wide experience of the 17th century to provide an excellent account of the complex politics of the 'open' town, suffering from the troops of both sides in the 'plundering time'; a phrase of the vicar of St Mary's, who added comments to the parish registers in a simple code.

David Neave analyses the town in the long 18th century, from 1700 to 1835. During this time the gentry of the East Riding came frequently to Beverley, developed its resources to provide their social life and their marketing requirements, and many of them built town houses. Beverley still has the grace, in the centre at least, of a Georgian market town, and Dr Neave writes well of political and social life, while Dr Ivan Hall builds on his expert knowledge to describe the secular buildings.

The last of the general chapters, from 1835 to the 1980s, was provided by Lucy M. Brown. Much of this last chapter seems familiar, for generations of students have been intrigued by the well-recorded accounts of electoral corruption, the analyses of occupations in the census enumerators' returns, and the public health problems of the 19th century. The passages on the 20th century are, inevitably, selective and lack a certain analytical bite: there is little reference to the two world wars, and the impact of a large number of servicemen on the town; perhaps it is particularly difficult to sift the significant developments of our own time. If the town's future lies in tourism, as foreshadowed, it is because the connection with St John, which caused men to build at Beverley an extraordinarily beautiful Gothic church: it is this, above all, which distinguishes Beverley from many other pleasant 18th-century towns of its size.

The second half of the book contains a wealth of information on more specific topics, written for the most part by the editorial team of K.J. Allison and G.H.R. Kent, on boundaries, communications, street-names, secular and religious buildings, ecclesiastical and charitable organisations, ending with the outlying townships which were in past centuries drawn into the liberty of St John. There is an interesting account of the common lands, accompanied by a plan, by Dr K.J. Allison, which traces the history and visible remains of the commons that are a notable feature of the present town; the plans and maps of the VCH, in this volume making good use of the 1/1056 scale Ordnance Survey of 1853, are part of its many strengths. The book is remarkably free of misprints and contains a wealth of well-documented references. It will be used as a quarry of facts for grateful historians for many years to come.

Barbara English

Peter Armstrong and Brian Ayres, *Excavations in High Street and Blackfriargate, Hull Old Town* Report Series No. 5, East Riding Archaeologist 8, 1987, 289 pp., 149 figs. and 36 plates, £22 (inc. post and packing).

This is an old style excavation report in almost every sense of the term. Lavishly presented on art paper and weighing 1.6kg (3½lbs) it contains sections devoted to the excavation, pottery, other finds, animal bone, environmental evidence and a concluding discussion. It represents a commendable amalgamation of sites excavated separately by Hull Museums and the Humberside Archaeological Unit between 1973 and 1977.

The considerable documentary evidence for the sites is summarised by Rosemary Horrox and Peter Armstrong at the beginning of the excavation report. Here the plots examined are assigned to their earliest identifiable tenants and are referred to in these terms throughout the report. Thus the Wytelard, Ousefleet and Hotham/Celererman properties are still described as such long after those persons have died and the properties have been altered and sub-divided. The structural development of buildings on the properties is examined in detail, and well illustrated with clear plans and sections, which to this reviewer's eye were marred by an eccentric lettering style. The two reconstructions on the frontispiece could usefully have been attempted for other phases of the buildings described.

Attention is drawn in the introduction to the different recording systems used and the effect of leaving standing baulks, particularly where intrusive features have already done their worst. This is graphically demonstrated in the Phase 1 plan of the Ousefleet property.

The site prior to the construction of the town of Wyke (Hull) is described as "a barren expanse with little or no vegetation" and the influence of the nearby River Hull is felt on a number of occasions. Flood deposits were identified on the Wytelard property early in the constructional sequence and the purposeful raising of floor levels elsewhere suggests the fear of further incursions. The construction of three buildings of different function, one an aisled hall of at least eight bays, in a medieval new town during the late 13th century is described. Particular emphasis is placed on materials used and constructional technique.

The pottery section by J. G. Watkin contains the results of studying 18,000 sherds as assemblages primarily for dating purposes. 68 pages and 392 drawings are devoted to a type series and there are 33 pages of tables. A synthetic volume or volumes on pottery types and vessel forms from Hull and the surrounding area would be a most useful contribution to archaeological research. The publication of part of such a work in an excavation report does not do the subject justice.

The Finds report is edited by Jeff Watkin and contains catalogues by a number of experts although comparative discussion is limited to glass, textile and clay tile. Both finds and pottery are referred to in the excavation text with a useful list of published finds at the end of each building phase description. However, no attempt is made to use the structural evidence to illuminate the finds.

It is a pity that this major contribution to urban archaeology is so difficult to read. It suffers from a lack of editing in terms of order, clarity and language and many of the tables and appendices should have been consigned to microfiche, if published at all. However, for those taking the trouble to get to grips with an unwieldy text there is much here to stimulate, inform and digest.

York

David Brinklow

Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: The Court of York 1301-1399 by D. M. Smith, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 14 (1988), 121 pp.

The York cause papers were listed and numbered by the late Canon Purvis half a century ago, but the attention and interest of numerous scholars since then have made possible and necessary a revised and, what is more, a printed list; no one is better equipped to undertake this task than the current director of that Institute, Dr. David Smith.

In a succinct and valuable introduction Dr. Smith outlines the development of the *curia Eboracensis*, directs attention to recent work on the archive and indicates the nature of the papers.

Then, in the main section of the book, they are listed in chronological order. For each case the parties, locality and number of items are given; where possible the parties are identified and the reader is referred to other printed discussions and relevant sources. The familiar 'E' reference numbers, conferred on the cause papers by Purvis, are retained, but it is a measure of how much re-arrangement has resulted from intervening research that many of those numbers now appear out of sequence. The ten undated cases are scrutinised, and possible dates for them assigned, in an appendix. The contemporaneous (and fragmentary) court books (1370-75) and proctors' registers (1376-94) are listed for reference. A subject index of cases and a General Index conclude the volume.

Altogether papers relating to 262 causes survive from the fourteenth century. Their numbers increase decade by decade throughout the century, save for the 1370s, though a marked surge is evident in the 1390s when 77 cases are represented. Across the century 88 causes are about matrimony or divorce; 27 – nearly a third – of these fall in the last decade. Of the 34 tithe cases, eleven – again virtually a third – occur in the '90s. What ratio these extant papers bear to the actual number of suits heard in the court is largely unknowable except where the very limited court book evidence is available. Nevertheless, the papers themselves have their own intrinsic interest, although this varies with the number and nature of the documents extant for each case. Only a minority of the causes are represented by a single paper, most by fewer than ten; about a score of the cases yield over twenty items, half-a-dozen well over: for one case there are 51, for another 61, for the best documented 64.

Among the topics which can be explored by means of these papers are the following: resistance to papal provisions, jurisdiction of archdeacons, rights of chantry chaplains, validity of certain appropriations, compensation due to a rector whose parishioner chooses to be buried in a friary, parishioners' obligations to repair a church, discipline of fornicating and apostate monks, relations of church and crown courts, exercise of papal jurisdiction, family donations of money and lands to a newly married couple, a mortuary case, and, of course, tithes – of fisheries, grain and (especially towards the end of the century) coppice wood. With Dr. Smith's meticulous guide the researcher can now exploit these opportunities much more conveniently and confidently.

University of Hull

Peter Heath

Rosemary Enright, *The Story of Nun Monkton*, D.P. Aykroyd 1989; pp. 112; 22 colour plates.

This is a brave attempt to produce a popular history of Nun Monkton village. It is beautifully printed on high quality paper and is illustrated by 22 fine colour plates and 5 sepia photographs. Alongside the text itself are notes of events in contemporary European history, to place the village happenings in a wider perspective. Unfortunately the book contains bad mistakes of fact; e.g. the prehistoric Celts had never really taken to agriculture (p. 8); Domesday Book is an accurate property record (p. 10); Leonardo da Vinci painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (p. 15); Churchill declared war on Germany (p. 91). Nevertheless it will give much pleasure and interest to local people and admirers of this lovely village.

R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *Early Tudor Craven: Subsidies and Assessments 1510-1547*, YAS Record Series CXLV (1987 for 1985). pp. xxxi + 148. £24.

This volume is aptly titled. Dr. Hoyle prints here in toto the good run of assessments and lay subsidies for Staincliffe Wapentake from the 1522 loan book to the last in 1547. To these he has added what little survives for Ewcross wapentake, lying to the north and west, the returns being incomplete for 1522 and damaged for 1545, the one full lay subsidy being that for 1547. The starting date of 1510 is justified by the inclusion in the appendices of useful summaries of all the Henrician lay subsidies from 1513, and the first correct and reliable published version of the Clifford Muster for 1510-11. The end papers appropriately reproduce the relevant part of John Speed's 1610 map.

There is good coverage especially for Bradley, Bordley, Hetton, Embsay and Eastby, but none for Nesfield with Westhall, Beamsley, Storithes and Hazlewood which lay in Claro wapentake. The loan book manuscript is defective for Addingham, and the returns for the more westerly

townships such as Slaidburn are missing. For these, indeed for all the townships, the 1539 musters, printed elsewhere, give fuller lists of names, although the assessments of wealth are of course lacking. Otherwise, this volume fills major gaps in the history of most townships and makes available records otherwise difficult of access. Genealogists will be grateful that their researches are eased by an exhaustive index of names.

Raw lists of names and assessments in Tudor tax returns are full of pitfalls, and to interpret them requires expertise. The most rewarding, and at the same time salutary, feature of this publication is Hoyle's careful introductory analysis and comparison of the returns. This stands in its own right as a valuable contribution to our understanding of Henrician taxation, the reliability of the records, and the methods of local assessment and collection. It illuminates what happened in this region of Yorkshire, and by analogy the nature of early Tudor local administration and Exchequer practices.

The 1522 loan book is of particular interest, and central to the analysis. Few returns have survived nationally, and that for Staincliffe is unique for the county. The surreptitious purpose of this assessment of individuals' wealth for bearing arms was for raising a loan. The loan book, therefore, township by township lists the lords and stewards and many of the adult male tenants with assessments of their wealth, which incidentally gives useful information on seigneurial ties. Hoyle shows its deficiencies – the partial coverage, inconsistency, and in particular the failure to represent adequately the young male adults without land. Each township, he concludes, has to be judged on its own merits. His tabulation of his comparison of the returns with the 1539 musters and the most complete of the subsidies, 1543, indicates what to expect.

Hoyle's meticulous scrutiny of the lay subsidy returns is equally revealing. He has discovered that there were two compilers in 1524, one for the south-eastern part of the wapentake, the other for the north-western, who interpreted the statute in different ways and also manipulated the assessments, but differently. The same happened, though with variations, in 1525. Hoyle argues cogently that the reasons for this must have been regional resistance to taxation similar to that in 1513-14, and suspects it was widespread in Yorkshire at least. Unhappily, the evidence for and manner of the manipulation invalidate the returns as reliable guides to the wealth and population of Craven. In the fullest return for Staincliffe, 1543, there was an upward shift in the valuations which Hoyle attributes to either prosperity, or inflation in values, or the use of a notional scale. In this, too, the coverage is uneven.

His cautionary words in no way detract from the wealth of information for students of Craven history. The tabulations alone will give much food for thought. Local historians will be aided in their own researches, and may in turn be able to throw further light on circumstances in given townships revealed by the assessments. This is a well-produced volume, a credit to the general editors as well as Dr. Hoyle.

R. T. Spence

West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Kirklees Archives 1959-1989*, Wakefield 1989; pp. 80; figs 50 (10 in colour) £5.95.

This attractively produced guide to the records of Kirklees District was issued to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the archives service and was compiled by Janet Burhouse and Elizabeth Briggs. It is similar to that published earlier for Leeds District Archives and covers the collections held at Huddersfield and Dewsbury, arranged under such categories as Ecclesiastical Records, Political Parties, Maps and Deeds. The clearly reproduced illustrations of documents, plans, billheads and old photographs give a good idea of the wealth of material to be found in these archives and of their value to the local historian. They range from a twelfth-century charter granting land in Lepton to a sketch of a yard in Huddersfield made in 1952. They include letters from Gustav Holst and from Charlotte Brontë's husband, a dyer's recipe book, a colourful dispensation from the National Independent Order of Oddfellows and a design of 1849 for a multiple privy.

OBITUARY: BARBARA H. NUTTALL

The sudden death of Barbara Nuttall in February 1989 deprived the society of a devoted and active member and brought with it a deep sense of loss to all who knew her. For over the thirty years of membership of the society she gave her support consistently and in many ways. She was a long standing member of the Council and as a member of the Local History Section was at various times, Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Excursions Secretary and latterly at the time of her death Editor of the Bulletin of that section. She was also a member of the Family History and Population Studies Section.

Although her academic discipline was mathematics, graduating at Manchester University, she enthusiastically pursued an interest in local history. Born in Thornhill (Dewsbury), where she spent much of her life before removing to live in Leeds, it was to Thornhill Parish that she devoted much of her time and effort as a local historian. Although situated on the fringe of industrial West Yorkshire, Thornhill still retains the traditional framework of Lordship, Church and people and it was logical to Barbara that she studied the history of Thornhill in these terms. This she emphasized in the introduction to her first book *A History of Thornhill and a Guide to the Church of St. Michael and All Angels*. As a result of her researches into the Savile family, ancestors of the present Lord Savile, on which she became an authority, she wrote *The Saviles of Thornhill, Life at Thornhill in the Reign of Charles I*.

Barbara was one of a now sadly declining body of truly 'Local Historians'. She was a widely respected member of the parish and the community for which she had such a great affection and to whose past she devoted much of her time. Her knowledge was made available to all, through her books and in instigating and producing "Thornhill's Pageant of History" and the Thornhill Festival. Her enthusiasm for local history made her a much appreciated speaker. It was said of her "Time stood still when Barbara spoke and history came alive".

The Society and her many friends will sadly miss her.

Joan Thornes

OBITUARY: MRS. B. M. SCOTT

Mrs. Beatrice Maude Scott, an energetic and much loved member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society for many years, died at her home in Boston Spa, Wetherby, on 17th March 1990, at the age of 80. Her work as an officer of the Society was concerned chiefly with the Family History Section, which she joined in 1976. She was Chairman from 1981 to 1984, Lecture Secretary for a further three years, and represented the Section on Council from 1986 until her death.

Before joining the Section her activities centred on Boston Spa, where she and her husband settled just before World War II. Although never a parish councillor, she was personally involved in the running of many village institutions, and did more for the welfare of its inhabitants, as time went on, than many of those officially involved, never refusing an appeal for help or advice. She was personally known, with great affection, by a wide variety of people of all classes in the village. In 1962 she was a founder member of the Village Society, an independent planning and conservation body, which became her chief interest for the next 25 years. After serving many years as Secretary, she was President at the time of her death. She became expert in ways of protecting the village from over-development, and was often successful in defeating the local planning authority, without antagonising it.

After her husband's death in 1972 she began to study the buildings of the village and the lives of the people who had lived there. She published the first results of her research in 1975, in an illustrated book which she expanded into a second edition in 1985. It was not a work of scholarship, nor did she claim that for it, but the amount of detail about buildings and people showed her deep interest in all areas of her subject. She also wrote a scholarly article on Lady Elizabeth Hastings in the *Y.A.J.* vol. 55, 1983, pp. 95-118.

G. S. Darlow

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R.M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., 9, St Mark's Grove, Rawcliffe, York YO3 6TS, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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